THE MUSLIM WORLD

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"THE ALL-GREAT . . . THE ALL-LOVING."

Karshish, the Arab physician in Robert Browning's poem, writes to his colleague Abib, describing his strange experiences as a medical itinerant in the Holy Land. At Bethany on the way from Jericho to Jerusalem, he looks around for a messenger to take his letter and stumbles upon Lazarus, the man who had been raised. Here was a rare case indeed. Karshish is fascinated but at first incredulous. Lazarus is inexplicable. Uncommon good health, an "unworried flesh", "grown eyes that see like a child", a quiet serenity unmoved by threats of Roman armies gathering against tribe and nation, an uncanny, incommunicable awareness of 'life'—all these are evident. But further

> "This man so cured regards the curer then
> As—God forgive me—who, but God Himself,
> Creator and sustainer of the world
> That came and dwelt in flesh on it awhile."

In a moving postscript before he seals and sends the letter, Karshish, half wistful and half confident, faces the tremendous possibility that Lazarus may be right. If Lazarus cannot be fitted into any normal explanations, how much less the stranger Stranger back of him. The writer seems to feel vicariously his friend's expected scepticism, not so much as a deterrent but rather as a pain to his own confidence.

> "The very God! think Abib, dost thou think?
> So the all-great were the all-loving too."

Abib's answer is not recorded. Yet it is right that the letter should seek it. For belief is not itself unless it is aware of disbelief. We who greet as Browning did with grateful joy the amazing truth of the Incarnation as the sure token of the loving sovereignty of God must be sensitively aware that Islam does not. Hence this Quarterly addresses the contemporary Muslim as "ḥabib", as "friend", in an honest and equal relationship, for the sole sufficient reason that it has something, Some-one, to share. It thinks of Muslims so, because it knows that the Divine Love which gives it being embraces them also.

Too long the news of God in Christ has been greeted with

incredulity. It is news of God to which, in God's Name, minds have been closed. How shall those truths find entrance into hearts where their exclusion has been regarded as a first duty towards the God Whom they concern? How else, save by our patience, prayer and penitence and by the courage of Muslims to believe that the knowledge of God is an adventure as well as a loyalty?

The duty to share is a fire in our souls which Christ has kindled. That question of the itinerant physician, gathering into itself the wistfulness of humanity, is one that cannot be hid. It has answer in a glad affirmative. The All-Great is the All-Loving. God's glory is seen in His Grace. His Sovereignty fulfills itself in Redemption. God is Love. And so God comes, not compromising but revealing His majesty in the act of humiliation by which He vindicates His Lordship. We are not more loving than God. Away with the thought. Our human capacity for sacrifice, our lengths of love, are not greater than His. Rather He is—and does—these things Divinely, in the uniqueness of an eternal Love which the Cross measures and Bethlehem reveals. Our very power of love is the gift of God Who loves us and a proper parable of His own Nature. Just as the human face is the open book where the lover may read himself beloved, so the ways and work of Christ are the lineaments of the Divine Countenance, lifted upon us and all our human fellows from the hills and dales of Palestine.

> "So through the thunder comes the human voice
> Saying: O heart I made a heart beats here,
> Face my hands fashioned, see it in myself."

In one sense, the Muslim instinct to disapprove this truth of God in Christ has its echo in us all. "We shrink" wrote Archbishop Temple, commenting on S. John 13, ". . . from this revelation. We are ready perhaps to be humble before God: but we do not want Him to be humble in His dealings with us. We should like Him, Who has the right, to glory in His goodness and greatness: then we, as we pass from His presence, may be entitled to pride ourselves on such achievements as distinguish us above other men." But No! "He Whom we worship is humility incarnate." Whatever the urge within us to protest, to disallow all but our own conceptions of Almightiness, we are called—all of us alike—to that 'islam' which brings us before God to confess, and not dispute, His lowly ways, which calls us to an entire obeisance, mind, heart and will, before the Divine Glory perfectly disclosed in condescension. "The All-Great?"—assuredly. But the nature of His greatness?—"the All-Loving." Shall we ever avail to persuade the world how great is His glory unless our souls are ever bowed in wonder at how mighty is His lowliness?

A LOVE THAT PERSISTS

A character sketch by Bulwer Lytton in his novel, *The Last Days of Pompeii,* may well serve as an introduction to our theme. He thus portrays an importunate evangelist:

> "The Nazarene was one of those hardy, vigorous and enthusiastic men, by whom God in all times has worked the revolutions of earth and those, above all, in the establishment and in the reformation of . . . religion—men who were formed to convert because formed to endure. It is men of this mould whom nothing discourages, nothing dismays: in the fervour of belief they are inspired and they inspire. Their reason first kindles their passion, but the passion is the instrument they use. . . .

Such importunity does not always characterise our intercourse with Muslims. But it should. Whenever the door of the heart has been opened under the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit let us, in God's Name, press in, seeking closer acquaintance.

The present writer has left on record the story of a contact he made years ago—one he did not follow up. It will bear repetition here. Travelling one day in a railway compartment in what is now East Pakistan, I found myself in the company of two Muslim men. The one was an elderly, grey-bearded, evidently well-to-do merchant, returning to Calcutta, the other his attendant. Ascertaining that I was a missionary, the first sought to draw me into an argument about the integrity of the Christian Scriptures. As we would only be together for a brief while and were, in any case, complete strangers, I remarked that little benefit would be derived by either of us from such a discussion. Instead, greatly daring, I ventured to ask his permission to quote, in the Arabic, a passage from the Holy Qur'ān, one that I had often found helpful: "Is there any doubt about God, Maker of Heaven and earth? He calls you that He may pardon your offences. . . ." (Sura XIV, 10.)

I went on to speak quite generally of how men turn a deaf ear to the voice of God, continuing in their sin and rejecting

His mercy: of how Jesus Himself stressed this attitude of God our Father, showing us that there is sorrow in His heart because men will not leave their sin and receive His pardon. I was startled to observe the result of these simple remarks, spoken in utter friendliness to a man much older than myself. I had imagined him to be proud and self-righteous, eager to uphold Islam at the expense of Christianity. I was mistaken! For his eyes filled with tears and it was some time before he could speak. Then, turning to his travelling companion, he said, in a voice broken with emotion: "It's true: what the padre saḥib says is true: we forget."

I never saw him again. Nor had I the sanctified common sense or zeal to ask for his address. Years later I was asked in England if I had followed up the contact made. The shame I felt, and feel, at my failure will not have been related here in vain, if other, younger, ardent spirits seek the promised wisdom not to fail in a like opportunity.

I recall also a pious Muslim who kept a boot and shoe shop. Always friendly and approachable, he loved to listen to words about Jesus, the Messiah of God. Consequently I was genuinely pleased when one day he presented me with an Urdu stanza of his own composition, in praise of the mighty works of Christ. I have it still. The words may be rendered as follows:

> "The dead in a moment rose at the Name of Jesus,
> Lepers and the blind were healed at His command.
> O Aziz, my longing and hope of salvation is
> Always in Jesus Messiah, highly exalted."

These words of course re-echo what is found in Sura III, 43. But what of the gesture on his part? What an opening it presented, but one which, alas, was not pursued.

But thank God, there are happier recollections. I remember another shop-keeper, a humble soul, who kept a store for cups and saucers and the like. My Bengali colleague had discovered him and found him eager to hear and read more of the wonderful Lord Jesus. One by one he read the four Gospels. One day I was seated in his shop, engaged in a heart to heart talk, when we were interrupted by a cus-

tomer. My friend surprised me by turning to him and asking him to come again, for he was busy then. When I remonstrated with him he replied earnestly that we were engaged in a vastly more important matter than the sale of a plate. If God willed it, the customer would no doubt return.

Subsequently, through reading the Gospels the man came into a real concern about his soul and repeatedly asked that we should pray for him. He used to say that his great desire was to *know* that he was on the right path, apparently having in mind the words of Jesus: "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." We frequently visited him and prayed that God would guide his feet into the way of peace.

Another constructive relationship came through having as our guest a young Muslim graduate with a fine command of English. Some time previously he had been stirred to write to *The Epiphany* (the Paper of Oxford Mission to Calcutta) in defence of the supernatural birth of Jesus, as set out in the Qur'ān, against the opposition of the Aḥmadis. His visit was a sequel to some correspondence we had together on this subject. During his visit he read through my *Christianity explained to Muslims*, in which there were quotations from one of his own books on the Birth of Christ. When he had finished the book, he volunteered the comment that it had confirmed him in his opinion that Islam had misunderstood, and so mis-represented, the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith. Who shall say what the influence on his fellow-Muslims of a Muslim so convinced may yet be.

Then there is, too, the happy memory of a Muslim who boldly declared his faith in Christ in the act of public baptism. 'Alim-ud-Din had apparently always been an earnest seeker after truth. In his study of the Qur'ān he had been arrested by the high tributes paid to Jesus. He had been impressed, too, by what he had heard from time to time in the streets of Dacca, from the lips of Christian preachers. His interest was quickened when there came into his possession a copy of the Bible in Bengali. Therein he read, for the first time, the sayings of Jesus and to such good purpose that

when he came to visit me he was able to complete verse after verse, as I began to quote them. Though a man of substance he was a truly humble soul, hungry for the word of life, yet hesitant about avowed discipleship. Then one day he came with the news that he had had a dream in which Christ reproached him for his timidity. "You say you love Me, yet are you ashamed to confess Me before men? What if you died before you declared your love?" Now his concern was that there might be no delay over his baptism. It was arranged for the following Sunday. His witness that day before the assembled congregation is a precious, unforgettable memory. But before he attended his first Service of Holy Communion, his family prevailed upon him to recant. His only son angrily declared when I visited his home to see him that suicide would have been preferable to the disgrace of apostasy from Islam.

It was a desperate moment. After prevailing upon the son to desist, I addressed the father—in Bengali. It seemed that I was given a fluency and directness of speech unusual for me. I pleaded with him to reflect what his former avowal, and now his denial, must mean, not only to the members of his family but to the Saviour Who had died for him. I was given the love that persists—but how painful was the situation. Yet God hallowed and transformed the pain. The day came when 'Alim-ud-Din returned, humbly penitent, seeking forgiveness and reconciliation, in the presence of the Church. Then it was that he broke bread with the brethren for the first time—but by no means the last. When at length God took him this was the epitaph his tombstone bore:

> " 'Alim-ud-Din, an earnest seeker after God
> Who, guided by the words of the Qur'ān,
> Diligently searched the Scriptures and found Jesus,
> The Way, the Truth and the Life."

God be praised that I did not let this man go. God give to us all a love that persists, in the service of the Gospel that is never discouraged.

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NORTH AFRICAN PIONEER

PERCY SMITH—SCHOLAR AND MISSIONARY 1876-1932

The contemporary concern over North Africa belongs to the political. But behind the important issues involved in the aspirations of nationalism and the reluctance of the old order to accept the fact of change, lies the great human fact—the daily, nightly existence of living folk, with their markets, their toil, their fears, their hopes, their sorrows and their children. Whatever be the headlines, these are the heart-lines of the world and it is here, without any false unconcern for the political shaping of destiny but with an imaginative relationship of ministry, that the Christian Church brings itself to bear upon the situation. It will be appropriate, therefore, to look briefly at the legacy of one of the finest pioneers in the North African field in modern times, whose story has not hitherto been told in these pages—or indeed anywhere—but whose labors are no small part of the foundation of the American Methodist Mission in North Africa and whose name is fragrant through all the missionary communities operating in the area.

If it is true that God often takes His servants through the highlands of affliction it is also true that He as often calls them from the lowlands of simplicity. As with William Carey and Mary Slessor, so with Percy Smith. He was the child of lowliness. He came from the village of Twyford, Hamphire, England, where his father was the manor gardener. He was born—happy mother—on Easter Sunday, which in 1876 happened to be April 16th. He was the eldest of five children. His father was a man of solid character and his mother a woman of exceptional gifts. High thinking and plain living marked his home: but modest means made for strong personalities. The family attended the village Church and for a time Percy was a scholar of the Rector, who helped him in subjects not available at school. But it was in the cathedral city of Winchester, near-by, where Percy experienced that heart conversion which was the foundation of his life-vocation. It was through the fellowship of earnest souls he found

in his new life that he first became aware of North Africa and of Islam as a summons to his Christian devotion. It was a hard wrench when later he chose to fulfill his missionary vocation outside the Church in which he had been reared. But at least the training in music he enjoyed as a choir-boy in the Church stood him in good stead when years later he took up the task of an Arabic hymnology for North Africa.

The joy of marriage came into Percy Smith's life shortly after his settling in North Africa, within the fellowship of the North African Mission. His bride—Sarah (Ettie) Boyt—had been a friend of Winchester days and had worked as a deaconess in the city of London, while he had undertaken initial Arabic study in Algeria. They were married in Berne, Switzerland in 1900 and proceeded to Constantine—a new century, a new home, a new land and a new labor. With the gay light-heartedness of youth they faced the unknown future, relying on the guidance of the unseen Hand.

Already in Constantine were the Rev. and Mrs. James L. Lochhead, who were proficient in Arabic and mature colleagues for the young recruits. The two men took long trips on bicycles through the thickly populated countryside while the women tackled the business of home-making. Relations with the French were not then easy for non-French Europeans, whose activities were suspected on political grounds. On one occasion Percy Smith passed his birthday in a dirty village prison, close to Constantine, before the authorities were persuaded to release him as a harmless evangelist. In later life this and similar memories were a measure of the happy change which came with the years. Officials came to respect and admire the missionary's concern for the welfare of the Arabs and his knowledge of their mind.

Into their Algerian home came three children—Kathleen (born in the old home at Twyford), Harold and Ethel Boyt Smith. They were a closely knit family and the joys of the home were not neglected in the steady concentration on the missionary task and the equipment it required. Arabic and French—the pre-requisites of the active work and theological studies to undergird it—these were engross-

ing enough. Though he had not enjoyed the opportunity of College study in advance of his missionary career, Percy Smith was a born student. He developed his linguistic gifts to the full and became expert in the literary aspects of evangelism. (He subsequently received the B.D. degree of London University.) Meanwhile plans on a larger scale were being framed which were to make new demands on these resources of talent and energy.

At a meeting in 1907 of the World Sunday School Association in Rome a request was made to the American Methodist Church to begin work in North Africa. Through the good offices of Bishop Hartzell the request was accepted and in 1910 the first Conference of the new North African Methodist Mission was held in Algiers. Experienced missionaries from other, and semi-independent, societies joined in the enterprise. It was felt by many that the uphill North African work needed the strength which would be brought by a large Church with sustained financial resources. There seems to have developed a deep and instinctive affinity of mind between Bishop Hartzell and Percy Smith in view of which the latter decided to throw in his lot with the new work, carrying with him the active sympathy of the North African Mission itself. This was the beginning of long years of fruitful collaboration in the common enterprise.

The Methodist Mission early made itself responsible for children's work in the area and set up homes for both boys and girls in Algiers, Constantine and Tunis. Here Mrs. Smith found a new call for her capacities as a home maker. As she was never robust in health she could not share the more strenuous sides of her husband's itinerant ministry, but she had just the gifts required in a house-mother. Percy himself did not enjoy administrative work and increasingly as his life went on he regretted, though he never begrudged, the inroads which it made into his cherished literary projects. Though he became in due course the Treasurer of the Mission his heart was always in translation and publishing work which he regarded as basic to evangelism among both the Arabic speaking peoples and the Kabyles. Yet he

was too great-hearted and far-seeing to miss the potentialities of the ministry to the young. The need, in any case, was its own appeal. In his report in 1918 he spoke of the poverty occasioned by the War and the pressure of applications from harassed parents and guardians. He saw in the homes potential nurseries of a native ministry and described them in 1921 as "preparatory schools of theology." He knew that often the finest ambassadors are those who are early "wise unto salvation." It may be good to add that while these home-builders were giving themselves to their North African children their own family prospered under God. Their children went in the twenties to study in the United States, the elder daughter graduating in medicine and the son, Harold Boyt Smith, in Theology. The latter studied Arabic and Islamics at Hartford and gave many years service in his father's field. The younger daughter, Ethel, who had brilliant gifts, contracted tuberculosis when she was eighteen years of age. She succumbed after a gallant fight and died in Switzerland in 1935. This loss explains in part the specialized interest taken by doctor sister Kathleen and her husband, Dr. Lewis Stanley Jordan, in tuberculosis prevention and treatment.

It is not possible here to do justice to the manifold labors that filled Percy Smith's days and years. So crowded was the program, as disclosed in reports and correspondence, that this writer at least is left wondering whether there were things he should not have been spared to the better use of his rare and undoubted gifts. Too often he was taken from creative endeavor to care for routine 'chores.' In missionary conferences in the Near East and elsewhere he was recognized as a scholar of repute but back in Constantine or Algiers he was allowed to be pre-occupied with administrative details which usurped his energies and forestalled his special gifts. His elder daughter tells of his linguistic powers. "Refugees from Armenia and the Balkan States drifted into Constantine in the early days of my childhood. Father was often called on to help understand them. His wide knowledge of languages made it easy for him to grasp the meaning

of those still unknown to him. He had a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He spoke, in addition to his native English, French and Arabic fluently." Nor were his gifts only linguistic. He knew the mind of the people in a penetrating way and had a warm, sympathetic personality. His relations with Dr. E. Frease, the Mission Superintendent, were the happiest.

In 1923 he was transferred to Algiers, where he worked in the Bible Institute, directed by Mr. Lindsay, and found some leisure for further translation work. As early as 1910, in the first report to the Methodist Board, he had written: "Five years ago I became interested in the translation of the Scriptures into spoken Arabic. I have worked at this almost incessantly in co-operation with others." The first fruit of this effort was the Gospel of St. Luke, published in 1910. The first edition of 7,500 copies was exhausted within a year. St. John was prepared for publication and then the Acts of the Apostles and Ephesians.

During a visit to Britain in 1911, he put into modern Arabic verse the stories of the Creation and the Fall and the story of redemption in Christ. Hopes of intensifying this work so as to complete the New Testament for the Bible Society were not entirely fulfilled after his transfer to Algiers. Other responsibilities developed which had not been foreseen. Furloughs and the reduction in the numbers of the staff led to his return in 1927 for a year to Constantine and when he went again to Algiers new administrative duties interfered. The intricate and erudite research necessary for the translation work was hardly feasible in the absence of undistracted opportunity. Yet his determination to pursue the task as far as might be was inflexible. Under such circumstances it is wonderful to record that before his last illness in 1932 he was able to complete for publication the Four Gospels and Acts and to make first drafts of several of the Epistles of St. Paul. The task still awaits a scholar-missionary who can bring the entire New Testament within the reach of North African Muslims and make good the vision of Percy Smith.

Besides his New Testament work he was able to make an important contribution to educational Christian literature and to secure valuable grants in aid from interdenominational committees for the particular needs of North Africa. Some tracts originating in Egypt, like Dr. Rouse's *The True Islam,* he translated into French and he published with preface a French edition of Sir William Muir's: *Mahomet and Islam.* But perhaps the most interesting legacy of his life was the Hymn Book entitled: *Kitāb Mazāmīr wa tasābīh wa 'aghānī rūhīyyah.* It contained 211 hymns, composed according to the popular method of versification employed in the spoken Arabic of North Africa. In the Preface he directed attention to the fact that classical Arabic hymns were available in the Beirut American Hymnal with the same name. These North African compositions dispensed for the most part with the classical terminations and followed the popular form of alternate accentuated and unaccentuated syllables. The vocabulary was dignified and native. Many of the tunes were familiar Western ones but several hymns were set to Arab melodies. In the case of metrical Psalms from the Psalter, Percy Smith preferred the use of plain-song which he argued had contributed greatly to the development of ecclesiastical music in the Arab world and which was closely analogous to the manner of chanting familiar to the native population in North Africa. Of the 211 hymns in this selection 198 bear the initials: P. S. Perhaps it is not only playful to see in the initials of his name the sign of 'post script'. For Percy Smith must always have been writing. His daughter remembers that "many a time in the midst of a meal he would rise to jot down the exact rhyme of a hymn verse which so far had eluded him, or a different form of words to express his thought. He would get up in the night to do the same thing. Neither meals nor sleep seemed to keep his mind from working." The conclusion to the Preface of the hymnal is characteristic of his chief passion:

> "May this collection contribute to the development of singing in classes for popular evangelisation, in services and in other meetings of Arab Christians and thus serve to

spread the knowledge in these countries of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The hymnbook also contained an appendix consisting of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, three forms of General Confession, and a Thanksgiving, all in colloquial. Another product of his versatile pen was a Manual for Church members based on the discipline of the Methodist Church and translated into French by the Rev. L. Bénézet of Tunis. Still in use, it is probably one of the best preparatory manuals of its kind in existence. In all these enterprises, Percy Smith was essentially a pioneer. He was trying to do for the North African Muslim what Temple Gairdner assayed for his Egyptian brother. It was perhaps natural that a land on the flank of the Arabic speaking world should have been one of the first to receive a colloquial printed Gospel. The parallel Palestinian venture came two decades later.

Humility, generosity, a warm capacity for friendship and breadth of outlook characterized Percy Smith. He was always accessible to Muslim friends and educated men came to talk to him, often far into the night. He was essentially studious but that did not prevent him from being a delightful father. He interested his children in Phoenician remains and encouraged them to raise silk-worms. "Dad," writes his elder daughter, "made learning fun, except when he tried to make me a Latin student."

The closing years of his missionary career were overshadowed by the acute financial depression of the late twenties and early thirties. The Mission at one point was fighting for its very existence. It weathered this storm and came through to conserve and advance the labors which Percy Smith had so unstintedly given. But the anxiety and stress told upon his health. The budget was depleted and workers reduced in numbers. The leaders had to carry on with the publishing and educational work, despite the shrunken resources.

Neither Mrs. Smith nor Percy Smith had been in good health for some time. The former died in Algiers in June

1932 after a severe operation. This great loss proved too much for his physical strength. His son Harold, then a missionary on the field, took him to hospital in England where he died on August 31, 1932. He was laid to rest in Twyford Churchyard close to his boyhood haunts and the scenes of his first studies for a Christian ministry. It is a place of hallowed memories for all who, within or without the fellowship of Methodism, care for the witness of Christianity in the Muslim world. Though his body was laid to rest in the soil of his native England he left his heart in North Africa where his work abides. May others take up the tasks he served—tasks still so far from completion—the tasks of mind and heart and soul, of tongue and pen—which Christ lays upon us for the Muslims' sake.

EDMUND E. CHAMBERS

Constantine, Algeria

IN MEMORIAM: JOHN KINGSLEY BIRGE

A loved and able servant of the Turkish people and of the Christian Church, the Rev. John Kingsley Birge died in Istanbul on August 14th 1952. A native of Connecticut and a graduate of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, he first went to Turkey in 1914 as a Professor at the International College in Izmir. He helped in relief work after the Graeco-Turkish War and served on a Commission for the exchange of prisoners. He returned to Istanbul in 1927 to engage in Publication work under the American Board of Commissioners of the Congregational Church and became an authority on Turkish language, literature and history. He led the work of revision of the Redhouse English-Turkish Dictionary, completed in 1950. Among his other publications was his Doctoral study: *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* and the recent *Guide to Turkish Area Studies.* At the time of his death, Dr. Birge was working on a volume devoted to the development of Turkish thought and society since 1800. He contributed many articles to *The Muslim World* and other journals and was held in very high regard by a wide circle of Turkish friends and associates. Their tributes to his work stressed his accomplishments as a student of their culture and his great service to mutual understanding. His outstanding scholarship in his chosen field was widely recognised and the legacy of his leadership in Christian relations with Turkish Islam will abide.

THE WORD OF A LIVING AND UNCHANGING GOD

I Peter 1, 23

The above is the translation of a somewhat "disputed passage" in the new translation in "plain English" of the New Testament. This follows that of the "New Testament in Basic English," Goodspeed and Knox, while Moffatt adheres to the rendering of the official versions, the one chosen here being the marginal alternative. Perhaps Arabic scholarship and Islamic usage might throw some light on the correct meaning.

The matter in dispute concerns two Greek masculine participial adjectives in the final clause of the verse, the question being whether they should be construed with λόγου or with Θεοῦ. The R.V. has "which" in the text with "who" in the margin. Too much is involved for both translations to be considered possible, even if grammar admits of either rendering. St. Peter meant the adjectives to refer either to the "word of God" or to "God," unless λόγου be taken in the Johannine sense; in which case there is no call for alternative interpretations. The R.V.M. compares Dan. 6.26, the words being, "He is the living God and steadfast for ever." The latter adjective is hardly happily translated. Hort, while admitting that the order "gives no help," yet feels that the repetition of the "Daniel" phrase in I Peter "might be an accidental coincidence." He also mentions the Syriac addition of "for ever," which represents the passage in Daniel both in the original and the LXX. Hence in the Peshitto the quotation is possibly more exact. Hort has a further worth-while note, in stating that "the presumption suggested by the coincidence is confirmed on the whole by *the sense*."[1] Dr. Selwyn, on the other hand, does not find his predecessor "convincing" in his interpretation, though feeling the argument "subtle." He thinks that "linguistically, if Θεοῦ were meant to carry the weight of two such *significant* adjectives, it would have been placed immediately after or at the end of the sentence."[2] It must be admitted that more commentators give their support to Dean Selwyn, though Hart considers that the Vulgate supports St. Peter's argument—"that spiritual kinship abides because it is based on the relation of kinfolk to God living and abiding."[3]

Neither Hort nor Selwyn mention Mt. 16.16, where the first of the adjectives occurs in another Petrine context, backed as it is by the use of the same divine attribute in seven passages in St. Paul,

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[1] Hort's Commentary on I Peter p. 92. (Italics ours).
[2] Selwyn's Commentary pp. 151, 152. (Italics ours).
[3] Hart in the Expositor's Greek Testament *ad loc.*

three in Hebrews, and one each in Acts, St. John and the Revelation.[4] The instances of ζῶν with λόγος, if impressive, are far less frequent. It is, however, with the other epithet μένοντος that there would seem to be more definite support for Hort's opinion that the coincidence between Daniel and Peter is "confirmed by the sense." Hort mentions the Syriac addition of "for ever," but he does not allude to the Syriac for μένοντος, which might have clinched his argument. This is *qayomo*. The sister word in Arabic is *qayyūm*—most likely a loan word from Syriac. In Islamic theology this word is never used except in reference to the Divine Being. It could not be applied to angels, prophets or even the Qur'ān as "the uncreated word of Allah." There are three occurrences of *qayyūm* in the Qur'ān, which in each case is accompanied by *Ḥayy* (Living). One of these contexts is the famous "Throne Verse" in the second Sura, which carries obvious echoes of previous monotheistic Semitic thought. The next is in the opening phrase of Sura III, which, though composite, deals with the experiences of some of the "People of the Book." The third instance is in Sura XX, which is Medinan like the others. The context is solemn.[5] Muḥammad is stated to have described this pair of attributes as the "Mightiest Name of God." *Qayyūm* is generally translated "self-subsisting" both by Muslim and Christian scholars, though "Eternal" has been used, and might be compared with Moffatt's rendering of JHVH by this word. Muslim scholars are further ready to admit that *qayyūm* is borrowed from Syriac.[6] Further this combination of *al Ḥayy al Qayyūm* is found at Dan. 6.26 in the Arabic versions of both Roman and non-Roman Churches in use today. Neither translation, however, uses the second word in the specifically Christian context of I Peter. The Van Dyck version follows the R.V., while the Jesuit makes both adjectives refer to God, as in Knox and the other newer versions. This Jesuit translation is of long standing, for it is traceable in the Arabic of the London Polyglott, where the identical phrase is rendered in the Latin *per verbum Dei vivi et manentis in aeternum*. The Aethiopic of the Polyglott omits "living" and otherwise agrees with the R.V. The Syriac here makes "living" go with "word," but uses *qayomo* of "God." The Greek original appears editorially indecisive, but the Vulgate is clear with *per verbum vivi Dei et permanentis in aeternum*.[7] The balance of

[4] Rom. 9.26: II Cor. 3.3: 6.16: I Thess. 1.9: I Tim. 3.15: 4.10: 6.17. Heb. 3.12: 9.14: 10.31. Acts 14.15. Jno 6.57 (69). Rev. 7.2.

[5] Sura II.256: III.1: XX.110. For the "Throne Verse" see Bell's Translation of the Qur'ān p. 36.

[6] Jeffery: *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* pp. 244, 245. He mentions three variants of the same root, one of which, *qayyām*, is the equivalent of the Aramaic of Dan. 6.26.

[7] London Polyglott, Vol. 5. 896, 897.

evidence would suggest that "Daniel" and Peter were sharing in a common Semitic inheritance in thus applying these two attributes to God. But it was not only an inheritance; it was a bequest as well. For it passed into Islamic thinking through the Qur'ān, so that this pair of adjectives came to be incorporated among the "ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah."[8] This is one aspect of the Divine Life which the three monotheistic faiths have in common. As such it cannot lightly be put aside.

Provided there is anything in the foregoing evidence and argument a theological problem is involved, arising partly out of the fact that though *ḥayy* may be used of the "word" or of "God," *qayyūm* can only refer to "God." This would mean that should μένοντος be considered as defining λόγου, the reference must be to Christ. It may be argued that the context makes this unlikely with the ensuing quotation from Isaiah—although ἑῆμα is here substituted for λόγος.[9] "The word of God" can stand for ever, but it does not partake of His essential nature in being "self-subsisting" or "all-sustaining." Hence we should follow Hort in his presumption that both ζῶντος and μένοντος belong to Θεοῦ. The text W.H. would imply that Hort convinced Westcott of the correctness of this interpretation.

The Mu'tazilite controversy in the early Islamic centuries turned on the problem of the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān.[10] This was something parallel to the division of opinion over the Person of Christ, that brought Arianism into the arena, and resulted in the establishment of the Nicene Orthodoxy. The Orthodox Muslims, who succeeded as did the Orthodox Christians, availed themselves of Christian dialectic in their discussion of the nature of the Qur'ān. "It is an eternal idea subsisting in the essence of Allah."[10] None the less in Islam *qayyūm* is reserved for Allah alone. Christians might use the word of Christ,—but for its Islamic flavoring. Instead they have used and do use its equivalent *bāqī*, as in the Polyglott and the Jesuit versions; or *sarmadī*, as in other Christian writings in Arabic, whether mediaeval or modern.[11] Dean Selwyn is surely right in describing these two adjectives as significant. They are so, because together they express one aspect of the nature of God as the Near East has sensed it through the vicissitudes of the three monotheistic systems,—an underlying conception, which naturally leaps to the front when men meditate on the deep things of God.

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[8] Isaiah 40.7.

[9] Sweetman: *Islam and Christian Theology*, Vol 1. 19,21,215,216.

[10] Elder: Commentary of al-Taftāzānī p. 63: in various places will be found a domestic discussion of the Mu'tazilites.

[11] e.g., The Invocation to the Diwān of Mar Ebed Iso in Syriac and Arabic, edited by Gabriel Cardahi (1889), which runs *bism illah il-ḥayy il-sarmadī*.

MAWDŪD I OF MOSUL, PRECURSOR OF SALADIN

The presence of the Israeli immigrants in Palestine today affords a basis of comparison with that of the crusaders in Palestine and Syria in the twelfth century. In both cases we have to deal with racial minorities from Europe planted upon the shores of Asia, minorities recruited and in part financially supported from across the sea. In both cases we have immigrants owing their success partly to their own military efficiency and partly to the disunity of their unwilling hosts, the natives of the land. Today although the latter are represented by a League of Arab States, this League has not had enough unity and strength to maintain the Arab position in Palestine. At the time of the First Crusade the people of the Muslim Near East were divided between the adherents of the 'Abbāsid caliph in Baghdad and the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo. This was actually a cleavage between the older, Arabic elements in Islam and the recent Saljūq Turkish converts, whose sultan dominated the 'Abbāsid caliph. The Saljūqs in turn were badly divided by rival princes and military commanders, each of whom had seized what he could following the death of the great Saljūq Sulṭān Malikshāh in 1092.

The question naturally occurs, if the League of Arab States should achieve greater unity and strength tomorrow, could the state of Israel endure? We cannot tell. In the twelfth century, however, the states set up by the crusaders did not last long after Muslim unity was achieved. This unity was built up by a series of remarkable men: Sharaf-al-Dīn Mawdūd of Mosul, 'Imād-al-Dīn Zangī of Mosul and Aleppo, Nūr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd (Nureddin) of Aleppo and famed Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Yūsuf (Saladin) of Egypt and Syria. The careers of the last three, each of whom built upon the work of his predecessor, are well known. The career of the first, Mawdūd I of Mosul, is little known,[1] and will be the subject of this study.

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[1] Most of the sources for a study of Mawdūd are to be found in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades,* published by the French Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (16 vols.; Paris, 1841-1906) in the series *Historiens orientaux, Historiens occidentaux,* and *Documents arméniens* (respectively cited as *R.H.C.Or., R.H.C. Occ.,* and *R.H.C. Arm.*). The principal Arabic sources are Ibn-al-Qalānisī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades,* extracted and translated by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932); Ibn-al-Athīr, *Extrait de la chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.,* I; and the latter author's *Histoire des atabecs de Mosul, R.H.C. Or.,* II, pt. ii. Other Arabic sources are Abu-l-Fidā', *Resumé de l'histoire des croisades tiré des Annales d'Abou 'l-Feda, R.H.C. Or.,* I; Abu-al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Extraits du Nodjoûm ez-zahireh, R.H.C. Or.,* III; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *Extraits de la chronique d'Alep, R.H.C. Or.,* III; Sibṭ ibn-al-Jawzi, *Extraits du Mirât ez-zèmân, R.H.C. Or.,* III; Usāmah ibn-Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades,* translated by Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1929); and Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, *al-Nujūm al-Zahirah,* edited by William

The origins of Sharaf-al-Dīn Mawdūd are obscure. The place and date of his birth are not recorded, so far as the writer can discover. Mawdūd has been variously called the brother of the Saljūq Sulṭān Muḥammad (1104-18) and the nephew of Qawām al-Dawlah Karbūqa, governor of Mosul (1096-1102), but without evidence. Ibn-al-Athīr and a later writer, Abu-l-Fidā', respectively refer to Mawdūd as the son of one al-Tūntakīn or al-Ṭunṭāsh,[2] who is otherwise unknown.

Mawdūd first comes to notice when, a little before the middle of May, 1108,[3] he was commissioned by Sulṭān Muḥammad to wrest the city of Mosul from its rebellious lord, Jāwali Saqāwa, and become its new master. This mission he accomplished early the next September.[4] Mosul was the metropolis of northern 'Irāq. Its lord, who was regarded as a favored vassal of the Saljūq sultan, was often called upon to rally the other *amīrs* of 'Irāq and western Iran and to act as the sultan's *isbāslār* (commander-in-chief).

Mawdūd presumably spent most of his first year in consolidating his position in Mosul, although we do not hear of him again until the Muslim month of Jumāda I, A.H. 503 (Nov. 26—Dec. 24, 1109), when he was ordered by Sulṭān Muḥammad to begin a *jihād*

Popper (4 vols.; Berkeley, California, 1909-12). The Armenian source is Matthew of Edessa, *Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse, R.H.C. Arm.,* I. The Latin sources are Albert of Aix, *Liber Christianae expeditione pro ereptione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae, R.H.C. Occ.,* IV; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); and William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, R.H.C. Occ.,* I. The Syriac sources are Abu-'l-Faraj, *Chronography of Abu'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician commonly known as Bar Hebraeus,* translated by E. A. Wallis Budge, Vol. I (London, 1932); and Michel le Syrien, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarch Jacobite d'Antioche,* edited and translated by J. B. Chabot (4 vols.; Paris, 1899-1910).

W. B. Stevenson, and to a lesser degree, René Grousset, have discussed Mawdūd's career (Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East* [Cambridge, 1907], pp. 87-96; and Grousset, *Histoire des croisades* [3 vols.; Paris, 1934-36], I, 265-77, 449-56). Ernest Barker and H. A. R. Gibb, the latter rather tentatively, made note of Mawdūd as the leader of a general movement against the crusaders (Barker, "Crusades," *Encyclopedia Britannica* [24 vols.; Chicago, London, Toronto, 1949], VI, 778; and Gibb, "Notes on the Arabic Materials for the History of the Early Crusades," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* VII [1933-35], 741, 742).

[2] Stevenson referred to Mawdūd as Sulṭān Muḥammad's brother (pp. 64, 84, 87). Gibb (ed.) rejected this view, and then called Mawdūd a nephew of Karbūqa (*Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades,* p. 99, n. 4), only to retract this statement later ("Notes on Arabic Materials," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* VII, 742, n. 4). For use of the name al-Tūntakīn see ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.,* I, 258, 779; and Hitti (ed.), *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior,* p. 97, n. 93; and Gibb, *loc. cit.* For use of al-Ṭunṭāsh see Abu-l-Fidā', *R.H.C. Or.,* I, 12, and editor's note in Index, p. 845; and Grousset, I, 265.

[3] Before Shawwāl, A.H. 501 (Gibb [ed.], *Damascus Chronicle,* p. 82, n. 3). In 1108 Shawwāl began May 15.

[4] Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.,* I, 257, 259. Consult Stevenson, p. 85, n. 6.

(holy war) against the Frankish invaders.[5] It was a cause which Mawdūd was to pursue skillfully and relentlessly until he died four years later.

Mawdūd, associated with two other powerful lords, Sukmān al-Quṭb of Mayyāfāriqīn in upper Armenia and Ilghāzī ibn-Urtuq of Mārdīn, began the campaign of 1110 by appearing in the neighboring Frankish county of Edessa and besieging the capital city of that name, May 3-12. He devastated the countryside, destroying gardens and orchards and those particular centers of Christian husbandry, the monasteries. The Count of Edessa, Baldwin du Bourg, called upon the King of Jerusalem, Baldwin I, for aid. The latter was not able to leave until after May 29. During his month-long march to Edessa King Baldwin gathered to himself Count Bertrand of Tripoli and two Armenian princes, Basil Kogh of Kaisun and Abelgh'arib of al-Bīrah. When Baldwin arrived he had fifteen thousand men at his back, if we may believe the Latin chronicler Albert of Aix. The forces of Antioch, the second most important crusader state, had not rallied to the common cause for the reason that Tancred, the regent of Antioch, was at enmity with Count Baldwin of Edessa. King Baldwin appealed to Tancred. The latter came forth reluctantly with fifteen hundred knights,[6] more of a bodyguard for Tancred than a re-enforcement for King Baldwin.

The *Amīr* of Mosul and his allies now withdrew southward from Edessa into the desert area of Ḥarrān (anc. Carrhae). They hoped to lure King Baldwin into a trap, as Mawdūd's predecessor Jāwalī had done to Bohemund of Antioch and Baldwin du Bourg of Edessa in the same place in 1104, and as Occidentals will remember the Parthians had done to the Roman general Crassus in 53 B.C. It was sound policy. The fleet Turkish horsemen would have the more heavily armed Frankish knights at their mercy if, by feigning flight, they could lure the impulsive western chivalry to break ranks and make a headlong charge. But this time the Franks were cautious and soon withdrew to their bases in the county of Edessa. The chronicler Matthew of Edessa states that Tancred was the first to withdraw, to Samsat on the Euphrates. Meanwhile Ẓahīr-al-Dīn Ṭughdakīn, *Atābek* of the great Syrian city of Damascus, joined Mawdūd. Though he might be expected to cherish his local independence vis-à-vis the sultan's generalissimo, Ṭughdakīn feared King Baldwin more. The latter had just captured Beirut, May 13, and had contributed to the capture of Tripoli the year before, in 1109. Both ports had served as maritime outlets for Damascan commerce. As the Frankish success in

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[5] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 101.

[6] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 102; Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 92-3; and Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 671-73. Ibn-al-Qalānisī furnishes the date.

the First Crusade had been due in great part to division among the Turks, this co-operation between Mosul and Damascus boded ill for the Franks.

The Turkish forces could afford to delay in the friendly area of Ḥarrān, but King Baldwin, distant from his southern kingdom, could not. He provisioned and garrisoned the city of Edessa, evacuated all the non-combatants who wished to leave the devastated countryside, and retired toward the Euphrates. He had succeeded in getting most of his personnel across the river when Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn came up. They slaughtered about five thousand helpless people in the rear, mostly Armenian refugees, before the eyes of the impotent Franks on the west bank. Soon afterwards the Turks returned to their homes.[7] The campaign of 1110 was over. Mawdūd, by his scorched earth policy in that part of the county of Edessa lying east of the Euphrates, had greatly weakened this crusader state.

In 1111 Mawdūd began a new campaign. The immediate cause was a dangerous series of successes won by Tancred of Antioch against the neighboring amirate of Aleppo the winter before. Citizens of Aleppo, rather than their incompetent prince, Riḍwān ibn-Tutush, raised such complaints before both the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mustaẓhir and the Saljūq Sulṭān Muḥammad in Baghdad that the latter ordered Mawdūd to act. Mawdūd advanced into the desolated area around Edessa and harassed that city for a few days, while waiting for other 'Irāqi *amīrs* to join him. Soon, on July 28, a combined Turkish army sat down before the great fortress of Tell Bāshir, key to that part of the county of Edessa which lay west of the Euphrates and which was as yet unravaged. Mawdūd gave it a determined siege, which lasted forty-five days according to the chronicler Ibn-al-Athīr, and included mining operations. But his effort was ruined by jealousies among Mawdūd's Mestopotamian colleagues and by the withdrawal of one of them, Aḥmadīl of Marāghah.[8]

At this juncture Mawdūd led his coalition south to Aleppo. After all, the plight of that city had been the immediate cause of the campaign. But Riḍwān closed the gates of his capital city. Weaker than Ṭughdakīn, Riḍwān was extremely fearful of losing his local independence and dared not admit the Sulṭān's commander. Further, he was sympathetic with the heretical sect of the Bāṭinī (forerunners of the Neo-Ismā'īlites or Assassins) and hence cared nothing for the

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[7] Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 93-4; Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 674; and Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 537-43.

[8] For the date see Ibn-al-Qalānisī (p. 114) and for the duration of the siege consult Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.*, I, 282, and *Atabecs, R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 33; cf. Fulcher of Chartres, p. 550; and Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 681. For the defection of Aḥmadīl see Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 115, Kamāl-al-Dīn, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 599-600; Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 97; cf. Sibṭ, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 542.

cause of orthodox Muslim unity represented by Mawdūd. As a result of Riḍwān's rebuff Mawdūd and his colleagues sat down and plundered the countryside of Aleppo for seventeen days,[9] no doubt confirming Riḍwān in his suspicions of them.

Meanwhile Ṭughdakīn, *Atābek* of Damascus, Mawdūd's ally of the previous year, came up from the south. Still troubled by the Frankish capture of the port of Tripoli in 1109, he suggested that the holy war be diverted towards that city. But Mawdūd's unruly 'Irāqī allies had no wish to fight for Ṭughdakīn's benefit, or to stay away from their own lands any longer. Accordingly they went home. Mawdūd was thus left alone with Ṭughdakīn.[10] During this time, Tancred of Antioch, alert to the danger, sent word to King Baldwin of Jerusalem, and gathered his own men at al-Rūj (Rugia). Here he could watch Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn, who had camped at the stronghold of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (Marra), southeast of Antioch.[11] When King Baldwin of Jerusalem, having gathered to himself Counts Bertrand of Tripoli and Baldwin du Bourg of Edessa, joined Tancred, an imposing army was formed. It numbered sixteen thousand men, if we may believe the chronicler Albert of Aix.[12] But Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn were not ready to fight. They accepted the invitation of Sulṭān ibn-Munqidh, the Arab lord of Shayzar, a powerful place further south, on the Orontes River, to join him. They arrived there September 15, but the Franks came up and faced them on the north bank of the river. Soon it became the familiar story of the Franks harassed in hostile territory and prodded to fight under conditions favorable to the light Turkish cavalry. King Baldwin and Tancred were too shrewd to fall into such an error, although their men suffered drastically from food shortage for six days. Finally the Franks were able to retire, September 29, and then the Turks went home.[13] So ended the campaign of 1111. It had been conducted with great skill by Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn but was thwarted with equal ability by King Baldwin and his colleagues.

In 1112 Mawdūd came alone. He entered the devastated county of Edessa for the third successive season, pasturing his horses in the fields and ruining the crops. He appeared before the capital city April 22, staying there eight days. Then he moved southwest into the

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[9] Kamāl-al-Dīn, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 600.

[10] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 117; and Kamāl-al-Dīn, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 601.

[11] Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 552-54; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 116; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 600-01; and Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh*, *R.H.C. Or.*, I, 283, and *Atabecs*, *R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 33.

[12] Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 683.

[13] Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 683-84; Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 555-57; Usāmah, p. 97; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, pp. 118-19; Kamāl-al-Dīn, *R.H.C. Or.*, 601; and Sibṭ, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 543. Usāmah and Albert furnish the dates.

area of the fortress of Sarūj, the other important Frankish strong point east of the Euphrates. After a skirmish near Sarūj, June 15, Mawdūd went back to a renewed siege of Edessa. This time he nearly gained the city by a conspiracy with some of the Armenian guards. But the plot was foiled by Count Joscelin of Tell-Bāshir, who was within Edessa. Mawdūd retired to 'Irāq.[14] If he had succeeded in securing Edessa he would have anticipated 'Imād-al-Dīn Zangī, whose capture of Edessa in 1144 was a turning point in the history of the crusades.

Mawdūd's fourth and last campaign was in 1113. The immediate cause was the raiding by King Baldwin of the district of al-Bathanīyah, between Lake Tiberias and Damascus, early in the spring. According to Ibn-al-Athīr, Baldwin's depredations were so effective that food became scarce in Damascus. Ṭughdakīn, *Atābek* of Damascus, appealed to Mawdūd for aid. Mawdūd gathered an army and marched to Ḥarrān, south of Edessa. The people of Edessa sent warning to King Baldwin, who appealed to Roger of Antioch and Pons of Tripoli, successors of Tancred and Bertrand in those principalities. Roger mobilized seven hundred knights and five hundred footmen, but was slow in getting started. Mawdūd crossed the Euphrates in the latter part of April or early in May and joined Ṭughdakīn near Ḥims (Emesa), May 28. They agreed to attack the town of Tiberias on the lake of that name. Undoubtedly the town had been the base of Baldwin's predatory operations. Meanwhile Baldwin called forth his manpower. Leaving small garrisons in the towns, he raised seven hundred knights and four thousand footmen, according to Albert of Aix.[15]

Baldwin, not daring to wait for Roger and Pons, marched to the relief of Tiberias. Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn shifted their camp to the plain of al-Quhwānah, south of the lake and east of its outlet, the Jordan. This plain was later to be famous as the place where Ṣalāh-al-Dīn entered the kingdom of Jerusalem in his successful invasion of 1187. Baldwin approached from the west, towards a bridge east of the ancient village of al-Sannabrah (Sennabris). Christian chroniclers credit Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn with a successful ambush of King Baldwin, but Ibn-al-Qalānisī of Damascus, a Muslim contemporary who would have claimed such an honor for his side had he known

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[14] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, pp. 127-28; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.*, I, 287; and Sibṭ, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 545. For chronology and details of the conspiracy see Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 100-02; and Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, III, ii, 196.

[15] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, pp. 132-34; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.*, I, 288; Sibṭ, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 546; Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 694-95; Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 565-66, 570; and Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 106. Ibn-al-Qalānisī and Ibn-al-Athīr furnish the chronology.

of it, states that the two forces stumbled into each other. The Turkish leaders were alert. Pouring their men across the bridge they disastrously defeated Baldwin's force June 28. Accounts of the Frankish losses vary, from two thousand men, according to Ibn-al-Qalānisī, to about thirty knights and twelve hundred footmen, according to Baldwin's chaplain and biographer, Fulcher of Chartres. The chroniclers generally agree that the infantry suffered most. In the confusion King Baldwin himself was captured, but he was not recognized and succeeded in escaping. He and the shattered remnants of his army gathered at Tiberias. Ibn-al-Qalānisī writes that the Jordan was so polluted by blood that for several days its water could not be used for drinking.[16]

Immediately after the battle, the next day according to Albert of Aix, Roger and Pons arrived with the men of Antioch and Tripoli. Both Ibn-al-Qalānisī and Fulcher of Chartres state that the two young princes remonstrated with King Baldwin for his precipitancy. On the day following the battle the combined Frankish army seized a hill west of the town of Tiberias. Here the army was safe from attack although it suffered from an insufficiency of water. Ibn-al-Athīr tells us that the Franks were confined to this hill for twenty-six days.[17]

As a result of the battle of al-Quhwānah Turkish raiding parties were free to roam the kingdom of Jerusalem from one end to the other. Ibn-al-Qalānisī states that not one cultivated estate was left unplundered from Acre to the city of Jerusalem. Fulcher of Chartres writes that the Arab tenantry turned en masse to their Muslim co-religionists. He also states that the Franks did not dare leave the walled towns. They could neither communicate with King Baldwin blockaded near Tiberias nor harvest the crops which were abundant in that year. But all the towns held out, except Nāblus and Beisan.[18]

Gradually circumstances were reversed. Not only did the men of Antioch and Tripoli stay with King Baldwin all during the crisis, but pilgrims from Europe, as they arrived, flocked to him. After

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[16] Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 568-69; Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 695; William of Tyre, *R.H.C. Occ.*, I, 484-85; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, pp. 135-36; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh*, *R.H.C. Or.*, I, 288-89, and *Atabecs*, *R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 35; Sibṭ, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 546-47; Abu-l-Fidā', *R.H.C. Or.*, I, 11; and Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 106. Ibn-al-Qalānisī and Fulcher, both prime sources, agree on the date, June 28. Albert of Aix gives June 29; Ibn-al-Athīr and Abu-l-Fidā', June 30. See Hagenmeyer, edition of Fulcher, p. 569, n. 21; and Stevenson, p. 63, n. 2.

[17] Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh*, *R.H.C. Or.*, I, 289, and *Atabecs*, *R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 35; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 136; Fulcher of Chartres, p. 570; and Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 696.

[18] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 139; and Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 572, 574; cf. William of Tyre, *R.H.C. Occ.*, I, 486-87.

August 16 the Turks gave up trying to blockade Baldwin's army. Baldwin descended the hill, set up a new camp, gathered in men and supplies and put the Turks on the defensive. No longer daring to roam and plunder, the Turks began to run short of supplies in enemy territory. Consequently Mawdūd and Ṭughhdakīn gave up their effort and retired to Damascus, September 5.[19] The kingdom of Jerusalem was not to endure another such crisis until the fatal one of 1187.

Indeed the invasions of 1113 and 1187 were strikingly similar. In both cases a united Muslim power struck the Christians. Each time the invaders began by attacking Tiberias. In each instance this provoked a general military levy of the kingdom. And on both occasions the Muslims defeated the Frankish army and marooned it on a hill short of water. But there were important differences. King Baldwin's army was defeated and thrown back; King Guy's was defeated and captured. King Baldwin on his hill was merely short of water; Guy lacked it entirely. Baldwin retained the respect of his colleagues in spite of his mistake; Guy was despised by an important faction in his council. Finally, King Baldwin received outside help; King Guy was captured at once, before any aid could come.

Immediately after the campaign of 1113 Mawdūd dismissed his troops to their homes while he himself remained in Damascus. He intended to lay plans there for the continuance of the holy war the next year. In his three campaigns with Ṭughdakīn, Mawdūd evidently felt that he had built up what was vital to the *jihād,* a close understanding and firm alliance between the Turks of 'Irāq and those of Damascus, the strongest Muslim state in Syria. But it was all seemingly undone by Mawdūd's murder in the great mosque of Damascus, October 2, 1113.[20] The crime occurred in the immediate presence of Ṭughdakīn. The murderer was instantly cut down by the *atābek's* guards and the body burned before it could be identified. Consequently the mystery of guilt was never solved. Sulṭān Muḥammed soon suspected Ṭughdakīn, with results to be noticed below. Some writers, such as the Christians Albert of Aix and Matthew of Edessa, baldly accused Ṭughdakīn. Others, such as Fulcher of Chartres, Abu-al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf and ibn-Taghrī Birdī, did not connect Ṭughdakīn with the murder. Ibn-al-Qalānisī, Ṭughdakīn's fellow

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[19] Fulcher of Chartres, p. 575; Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.,* IV, 696; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, pp. 137-39; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.,* I, 289; and Abu-l-Faraj, *Chronography,* I, 245. Ibn-al-Qalānisī furnishes the dates.

[20] The date, Oct. 2, is given by Ibn-al-Qalānisī (pp. 139-40), a very reliable contemporary. The estimates, Sept. 12 by Hagenmeyer (edition of Fulcher, p. 577, n.9), and Sept. 21 by Dulaurier (edition of Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.,* I, 108, n.1), were made without access to Ibn-al-Qalānisī.

townsman and the earliest Muslim authority, and Sibṭ ibn-al-Jawzī, wrote that Ṭughdakīn was sincerely shocked and grieved. Ibn-al-Athīr, the famous Mosul chronicler of the next century, while careful to preserve the appearance of impartiality, expressed the views then held in Mawdūd's home city. Some people, he said, suspected the Bāṭinī, others, Ṭughdakīn himself. His father, Ibn-al-Athīr added, had told him that King Baldwin of Jerusalem wrote to Ṭughdakīn saying, "A people who struck down their champion, on a holy day at that, in the house of their God, deserved to be exterminated from the earth."[21] Although we cannot be certain regarding the *atābek's* guilt or innocence, we should bear in mind the following considerations. In Damascus Ṭughdakīn had practical independence from his nominal master, the Saljūq sultan. This liberty of action he preserved to the end of his life in 1128. His prestige, if not his freedom in his own capital, could have been limited there by the continued presence of the sultan's commander-in-chief. These facts, plus the haste with which the assassin was killed and burned, do leave a suspicion that the *atābek* was not wholly sorry to see Mawdūd disappear and may even have had a guilty knowledge of the circumstances.

Muslim writers, beginning with Ibn-al-Qalānisī, speak of Mawdūd as a martyr and as a man zealous in the practice of his faith. Ibn-al-Athīr states that Mawdūd in his last hours, while fatally wounded, refused to take nourishment, saying that he did not wish to meet Allah after breaking the fast of a holy day. More interesting are the reports of the Christians. Fulcher of Chartres writes that Mawdūd was "truly very rich, very powerful and greatly favored among the Turks, and of extreme cunning." Albert of Aix says, "His name and reputation were celebrated among the Turks and all the Gentiles because he had fought the Christians more than all the others." Even Matthew of Edessa, whose homeland was so thoroughly ravaged by Mawdūd, and who calls him "that ferocious beast, that drinker of blood," condescends once to call him "an intrepid warrior."[22]

An immediate but natural result of Mawdūd's assassination was

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[21] Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 700; Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 107-08; Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 577-78; Abu-al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 497; Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, II, ii, 362; Ibn-al-Qalānisī, p. 140; Sibṭ, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 550-51; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.*, I, 290, and *Atabecs, R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 36. Gibb has shown the partiality of Ibn-al-Athīr at this point ("Notes on Arabic Materials for the Early Crusades," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VII, 750-51).

[22] Ibn-al-Qalānisī, pp. 141-42; Ibn-al-Athīr, *Kamel-Altevarykh, R.H.C. Or.*, I, 290, and *Atabecs, R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 36; and Abu-l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *R.H.C. Or.*, III, 498; Abu-al-Fidā', *R.H.C. Or.*, I, 11; Fulcher of Chartres, p. 578; Albert of Aix, *R.H.C. Occ.*, IV, 700; and Matthew of Edessa, *R.H.C. Arm.*, I, 91, 100, 104.

a suspicion in the sultan's court at Baghdad that Ṭughdakīn was responsible. As a result Ṭughdakīn was forced into rebellion in 1114, and even into a temporary alliance with the four Latin states in 1115.[23] Thus Mawdūd's life work in promoting Muslim unity and the holy war seemed to be tragically ruined by the circumstances of his death.

But Mawdūd had lit a fire which never quite died out. When he acquired Mosul he found there a brilliant young refugee, 'Imād-al-Dīn Zangī, son of a former *amīr* of Aleppo. Mawdūd became very fond of Zangī. The latter served under Mawdūd in the *jihāds* of 1111 and 1113, and in later years gave a son the name of his patron.[24] In his day Zangī served the Saljūq sultan loyally, united the powers of Mosul and Aleppo, and captured Edessa in 1144. This latter event was a milestone in the downward course of the crusades. Zangī's son Nūr-al-Dīn consolidated his power in Syria and acquired Damascus, looking toward Jerusalem and Egypt. In 1169 he installed his lieutenant Shīrkūh as vizier to the Fāṭimid caliph in Egypt. Shīrkūh's illustrious nephew Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn suppressed the Fāṭimid caliphate in 1171 and united the powers of Egypt and Syria after Nūr-al-Dīn died in 1174. With this strength at his back Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn annihilated the army of Jerusalem at Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187. This victory broke the back of the crusading movement. Although the Third and other crusades were to follow, the result could never be in doubt. Antioch fell in 1268, Tripoli in 1289, and the last Syrian stronghold, the Templar's island fortress of Arwād, in 1302. Mawdūd's work was complete.

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[23] Consult Stevenson, pp. 98-100; and Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, I, 277-80, 495-510.

[24] Zangī's father was Al-Qāsim al-Dawlah Aqsunqur, governor of Aleppo from 1084-85 to 1094 (Ibn-al-Athīr, *Atabecs, R.H.C. Or.*, II, ii, 14, 17, 30). Zangī's son was Quṭb-al-Dīn Mawdūd, lord of Mosul from 1149-50 to 1170 (*op. cit.*, pp. 168, 264).

THE IMPLICATIONS OF COMMUNISM FOR ISLAM

[A Paper, here somewhat abbreviated, read by the author in May 1952 at the Conference held in Hartford, Conn., on the theme: "Islam at Mid-Century," and reported in the Supplement to the October 1952 issue. The Arab world is particularly in mind in what follows.]

A superficial and immediate reaction to our topic might be that obviously any spiritual, devout Muslim would reject outright the false promises of atheistic and materialistic Communism. But the relation of contemporary Islam to the challenge of Communism is vastly more complex than that. Traditional Islam is both a faith and a community and it is threatened on both counts by the modern age. Communism, in one sense, only sharpens and intensifies the general crisis in which we are all equally involved. Our purpose here is to deepen our awareness of what that crisis means for Muslims today and to examine the forms and forces within the reaction by which they shape their answer and their future.

In the current struggle of ideologies, orthodox Islam often proposes itself as a "third force" more adequate in meeting life's problems and truer to man's spiritual needs than the two rival "materialistic" philosophies, Communism and democratic capitalism. Yet orthodox Islam developed in a pre-industrial era. Its ethics and its laws were never designed to meet the problems of a mechanized society engaged in large-scale production for a world-wide market. Its philosophy is pre-scientific. Its political formulations are designed for pre-national communities. It does not seem likely that it could be a "third force" unless contemporary issues can be met by a historical reversion to earlier modes of thought, practice, and patterns of organization, or at least, by an avoidance of practical problems through confining one's gaze to the realm of the spirit, an attitude which would not be characteristically Islamic. A devoutly orthodox Muslim who has been unwilling or found it unnecessary to adjust himself to the impact of modernism will obviously find nothing attractive in any Western ideology including Communism. Few Muslims, however, have ever shaped their lives according to the idealized formulation of orthodoxy. It is becoming increasingly difficult even for a devout Muslim to avoid coming to terms with modern life. When the Muslim attempts to do so he may discover that, in the context of contemporary pressures and demands, orthodox Islam in several important respects has prepared him to yield more readily to Marxist and Stalinist propositions than to liberal democratic alternatives.

This question must not be oversimplified. It has been observed, for example, that the Communist Party, like orthodox Islam, claims absolute and universal validity for a philosophy which explains the

process of reality in all its aspects, and, like Islam in its earlier phase, is puritan in character, filled with missionary zeal and spiritual fervor, demanding the submission of the individual to the community and complete devotion to its faith, offering only the choice of death or conversion to the pagan enemy. Both movements have their final prophet and their scriptures and vent greater hatred on the schismatic, the heretic, and the apostate than on members of foreign sects. Both differentiate between unjust wars and holy wars, and both have been given the revolutionary command to pursue and extirpate evil in all those parts of the world which are not yet part of its domain, a crusade felt to be in tune with destiny. It would be misleading, however, to suggest that these very similarities would allow a transition from orthodox Islam to Communism to be made with ease or without any intermediate transformations. The seeming similarities are all the more likely to give rise to bitter opposition, since, at least to that degree, the two movements can understand each other's threat.

These surface similarities actually hide fundamental differences. The most crucial of these, affecting both the intellectuals and the masses is a certain basic outlook on life which Communism does not share. Arab Muslims have tended, in general, to see reality as static and atomistic, its connection and direction residing in the inscrutable will of God. They have thought that knowledge is attainable only in the realm of particulars, which are already given, and therefore cannot be significantly controlled or manipulated. They have believed (despite relapses) in a code of ethics which is followed not because it is utilitarian, nor even because of the promised reward of Paradise, but simply because God decreed it. As long as they view life from that perspective, they will be unable to incorporate meaningfully into their daily activities any political, social, or economic institutions which are based on the premise that reality is a continuous dynamic process which can be brought under increasing control by man exploring its full potentialities and fulfilling his own. In the Arab world, there may be the germ of that modern perception among Ṣūfī Muslims but neither that feeling, nor the compulsion to act upon it, is likely to develop into full flower soon. The environment is still too hostile, and man's place in it still too powerless in the Near East and North Africa.

Orthodox Islam prepares the field for radical alternatives, such as Communism when it is unable to deal with contemporary problems and thereby loses its hold over an increasing minority of Muslims who may look for a more modern revelation equally totalitarian in its concepts, its emotional appeal, and the social control it exercises. Then the similarities which have been previously noted do

indeed become important. Stalinism and Marxism may then have the attraction of familiarity, especially to those who fully understand neither Communism nor the faith they left.

At the same time the traditional compromise of orthodoxy with political tyranny, which Islam justified on the grounds that it would preserve religion, has produced habits of acquiescence among parts of the population which may continue to persist even after the earlier motivation has disappeared. In fact, during its pre-revolutionary phase, and for some years thereafter, a Stalinist type of dictatorship might well continue to benefit from this state of religious quietism and refrain from attacking religion directly. Such restraint would be amply justified by Lenin's advice as well as early Soviet strategy within the U.S.S.R., and be in line with present Communist propaganda in the Arab world which emphasizes the freedom of religious worship said to exist in the U. S. S. R.

In one vital respect, orthodox Islam and Communism coincide. Like early Christianity, early Islam was among other things a protest against the abuse, corruption, and inequality of wealth, and insisted on love, compassion, charity and equality among all believers. This search for a more ethical society, which was a powerful motivating force in the formulation of various Communist doctrines, including Marxism, still remains a powerful propaganda appeal in the strategy of Stalinism. But shortly after the Prophet's death, the question of wealth or poverty became a minor issue in orthodox Islam; only submission was important. Religious dogma adjusted itself to the inevitable worldliness of empire and the tremendous riches accumulated during its conquest. Excessive piety preserving the spirit of earlier revelation was considered 'leftwing' deviationism. Abu Dharr, the only Companion to oppose the trend of his time, and to advocate the limitation of wealth to the immediate needs of the family, and the sharing of the rest, was sent by the third Caliph into forced residence in the desert. A book published in 1948 and based on his ideas was carefully studied by the 'ulemā' of Al-Azhar University, who acknowledged Abu Dharr's piety but banned the book. An accompanying *fatwā* noted that Islam respects property, and sets no limits to the legal accumulation of wealth except in demanding certain specified contributions for charity and the defense of the state, and in encouraging spontaneous offerings. This *fatwā* also justified the prevailing practices of land tenure and sharecropping. Orthodox Islam had justified the historical development of the Islamic community for too long to be able now to escape easily defending its sociological consequences. Radical critics can, therefore, point out that the history of Islam and its institutions, soon dominated by the very powers which had at first opposed the Prophet, contradicts its origin which asserted equality and fraternity in the midst of a com-

mercial city, denounced the collection of interest, and demanded tithes for the purification of property. Facts and hypocrisy generously mixed could permit Communists to claim that they alone have the courage and strength to return Islam to its original purity.

Having taken its stand, orthodox Islam throughout its existence has thus had to fight two enemies: the power-seeking groups who disregarded religion and those whose piety was so intense that they rejected orthodoxy for a social gospel of immediate reform and defied secular authority in seeking the protection of an imminent God or the supernatural forces of nature. Orthodoxy, since the ninth century, has had to yield and adapt itself to both. It is a moot question whether it has the strength today to be a vital ideological, cultural, or religious barrier to Communism.

Though it has sometimes been suggested that Arab Muslims as a whole are basically less interested than, say Europeans, in theories which place special emphasis on material conditions—an assumption which is highly dubious—they are certainly more interested than ever before in economic reforms. Marxism—whether interpreted by Socialists, Stalinists, or Communist deviationists—not only benefits from this increased interest in roads to material progress, it also comes compacted with strong emotional and moral attractions.

Islam as a total and, in its stress on submission, often totalitarian, way of life, as well as the primary social groups whose mores Islam validated and upon whose protection the individual could rely, are being shattered under the critique and impact of modernism and the secular demands of Arab nationalism. Traditional explanations and motivations are growing less meaningful as nature becomes less fearful, the ruler less charismatic, and God seemingly less significant. At the same time, however, society, in the process of change, is becoming more unstable and unpredictable, and terrifying in the increasing isolation of each individual. At such a stage in history, Arab Muslims who have preserved certain moral values of their religion despite their rebellion against the social irrelevance and intellectual inadequacy of their fathers' faith, and who are anxious to preserve the sense of community which was an intrinsic part of Islam, may turn above all to ideologies justifying secular totalitarianism, or at least intensive social planning. Marxism may appear to such Muslim radicals to be a complete guide to a way of life—providing more modern answers than Islam to the fundamental questions concerning reality, a sense of co-operating with the inevitable development of history, and emotional participation in a group through shared rituals, beliefs, and goals. To these attractions may be added idealistic motivations. The reader of current Soviet propaganda—the expression of one school of Marxist thought—will find most of it

devoted to the advocacy of peace and social progress. The reader of early Communist writings will discover that Marx, discouraged by the "fetishism of commodities," the alienation of labor, and the reification of society under capitalism, sought to bring about a new society of free individuals in which the material process of production no longer determined the entire pattern of human life. Once common ownership and rational control of the means of production had sufficiently increased private property in consumer goods, man's material wants could be satisfied on the basis of need rather than performance with its undue emphasis on economic discipline. From this perspective, Marxism—for Marxism, like Islam, has accumulated a history and permits a number of perspectives—appears to stress economic security primarily as a means toward the achievement of human freedom. To do so, it welcomes all modernization, promises the resolution of all class conflicts, and—particularly appealing to Arab Muslims—asserts itself as a universal community and proposes the ultimate dissolution of the state.

To Muslim radicals, accustomed to a monistic view of life, Marxism, therefore, may appear to be not a materialist approach which rejects spiritual values, but rather another monistic philosophy projecting spiritual values upon a materialist base. Hence, they may come to reject traditional Islam as the foundation of their community since, in their view, it unites the people only by binding the oppressed classes to the oppressor by submission. To preserve and enlarge the values of the community, to realize the spiritual equality of Islam on the material plane, the Muslim radicals may now decide to turn to Marxism. To save the community of which they continue to feel a part they would subvert its present worldview. They see a precedent in Muhammad's own strategy. To strengthen the Arab community, the Prophet had to break temporarily the oligarchic rule of Mecca and overcome the ties of kinship in order to establish the community of believers. He had to provide a richer and more rewarding faith. In the Marxist view, Muhammad was himself too much a member of his feudal society to do more than compromise with the past. Now only Marxism might appear radical enough to solve the co-existence of immense social wealth, the possibility of technological mastery of the productive forces, and widespread want, toil, and injustice. The progressive disintegration of Islamic traditions no longer precludes Marxism from evoking particular interest among Arab intellectuals as an explanation of present trends and a guide to proper action. Whether or not Arab Marxists will finally feel impelled to move also in a Stalinist direction will depend above all on secular conditions in the Arab world and abroad. When that choice is made, Islam may only be able to play

a negative role, coloring but not preventing the hostile reaction of Arab intellectuals to the social consequences of Islamic traditions in a world not of Islam's making. Marxism, however, is not the only form in which Communism appears to Arab Muslims.

Stalinism, as defined for present purposes, is a system in which the state becomes the sole reservoir of power and capital, attempts to make its production and bureaucratic apparatus efficient under authoritarian leadership, places special emphasis on the requirements of urgent industrialization and military strength, and justifies its political and economic exactions by an ideology which elicits popular support above all by totalitarian methods. Such a system, seen from the outside, may be attractive not only to an Arab intellectual élite which is in a hurry to realize its ideals, and sees no hope of carrying them out except through the use of force by a minority, but may also find favor with other sections of the population. It may appeal as a more effective and efficient doctrine of power and submission than Islam to strengthen the new national states of the Arab world against their enemies. From the viewpoint of the present ruling classes, acceptance of Stalinist models may seem to promise not revolution but greater efficiency. From the viewpoint of those out of power, Stalinism may seem to be a better, even if more brutal, way of achieving material progress than that offered by the programs of existing governments. They may be prepared to justify the police state by saying that some contemporary Arab governments are also prepared to use repressive force but without accompanying it by social reform or else, by delay and corruption, cause far more suffering in the long run. There also exists the widespread presumption among such radical intellectuals, as among some of our own in the thirties, that the errors of the Soviet Union will not be repeated when they introduce Stalinist techniques to the Arab world. If historical dialecticism in a Stalinist mould presents difficulties to minds whose tradition has been to emphasize the power of personality and the individuality of concrete events, a precise knowledge of the scholastic rigidities of Stalinist Marxism is not essential for making converts. It suffices if an increasing number of intellectuals (and not intellectuals only) feel caught, not in a series of isolated events, but in a tremendous historical movement, in which tradition no longer possesses authority, and in which new facts and ideas seem explicable only in the light of the material process to which they are related and which to a large part seems to determine their content. Should such a perception be accompanied by a deep enough feeling of rebellion against foreign control or domestic misery and exploitation, Arabs may, in the absence of genuine alternatives, turn to the most ruthless form of Western modernism for a weapon against internal corruption, and

to the Western heterodoxy of Communism for a weapon against Western domination.

As in the case of Marxism, the similarities of original sources and inspiration do not inevitably determine the outcome in favor of the U.S.S.R. Precisely because of the nature of the intellectual and social crisis produced by the yielding of traditional Islam to newer forms, systems akin to Stalinism are likely to have a strong attraction for that Arab minority of informed and politically conscious men upon whose decisions and actions the fate of the Arab world will depend during the next two decades. Again, however, secular events rather than Islam will determine whether such a development is accompanied by a pro-Soviet, pro-Western, or neutralist orientation, and whether its tendencies will be destructive to the human spirit.

The task of the Communist Party in the Arab world depends to a decisive degree on the strategy of the Soviet Union; the possibility of its success less so. The party benefits from the fact that to many Easterners, the U.S.S.R. and now possibly Communist China, represent both modernization-in-a-hurry and revolt against Western imperialist exploitation. To secular Arab Muslims, the possibility of modernization in a hurry may seem particularly fascinating as exemplified in the application of Stalinist methods in the often-claimed achievement of economic and social progress among the Muslims of Soviet Central Asia. A clear perception of the emptiness of the other aspect by virtue of Soviet imperialism and colonialism is made difficult by the fact that Arab Muslims lack any first-hand experience of it; do not recognize in the Communist-led revolts of Asia evidence of Soviet imperialism in that area; and are unable always to perceive as an equal threat to themselves the threat of Soviet imperialism against their own former overlords in Western Europe. Even among Arabs living in the northern reaches of the Near East, fear of Soviet aggression may not always imply fear of Communism, or lack of admiration for Stalinist methods.

At first glance it would seem that no Communist party can succeed in the Arab world unless it follows the traditional pattern of allying itself with important families, tribes, and cliques. Such alliances may be possible, especially with cultural minority groups and opportunistic and ambitious factions. Certainly the chances of the party would improve if it could attract into its ranks a number of outstanding personalities preparatory to taking power. However, Communism has attracted support among intellectuals precisely because it offers a clear-cut program and an impersonal, efficient approach to politics. The long-range historical trend in the Arab countries itself appears to be a movement toward greater secularism

and rational organization of institutional and political processes. Moreover, the Communist parties, proclaiming themselves everywhere to be champions of nationalism and independence, benefit from the paradoxical propaganda of those Near Eastern governments who assert that they are nationalist but limit the fruits of national power to only a small part of the national community.

The shallowness of political life in the Arab world and the increasing dissatisfaction with it aids the Communist Party. The latter appears to offer to intellectuals a way of gaining power without becoming involved in present corruption. In contrast to the bourgeois parties, the Communist Party is less often divided by petty interests, nor is it opportunistic, except on a grand scale. Though adhering to a doctrine of the modern West, the Communist Party appears to provide a weapon against those Western European powers with whose imperialist policies, unlike those of the U.S.S.R., the Arabs have had immediate experience. Though foreign in origin, modern Communism overcomes much of the handicap of that fact by giving the appearance of being part of a fundamental world revolutionary movement, no less Asian than European.

These advantages are counterbalanced by the Party's strategic and ideological subservience to the requirements of the U.S.S.R., which prevents the Communists from taking full advantage of the deep yearning of the masses for revolutionary change which is at once social and religious, conducive both to comfort and salvation. The U.S.S.R.'s desire to keep the Arab world weak, and to keep Western powers weak in the Arab world, must inevitably dominate Communist Party strategy in this area. Its stimulation of Arab nationalism is inhibited by the necessity of fighting against greater national unity among the Arab nations, and of having to destroy "bourgeois nationalism" again after attaining possession of power.

Within the limits of these inhibitions, the Arab Communist Parties try to appeal to Muslim intellectuals on the basis of the possible attractions of Stalinism. They appeal to the mass of people not by emphasizing ideology or, except where the contrast with Western policy can be made, the role of the Soviet Union, but rather by advocating what nearly everyone in the Arab world, not now prosperous, powerful, or content, may want. They speak in favor of peace and denounce the use of the Mediterranean area as a Western military base. During its struggle for power, Communism advocates increased *private* ownership of land, higher wages, stronger labor union organization, and contrasts what it denounces as the economic exploitation of Western imperialism and the latter's alleged support of reactionary governments, with the work of "peaceful reconstruction" in the U.S.S.R. and Soviet support to revolutionary movements

in Asia. The Party favors increased political democracy, contrasting the absence of democracy in the Arab world with the promises of the Soviet Constitution, and Communist equality. Not only radical but also reformist Muslims, both having compartmentalized Islam and divorced the religious from the secular, may find it possible, therefore, to collaborate with the Communist on important portions of the Party's program.

Despite the potential appeal of this program, the Communist parties of the Arab world remain weak. Thus far, Communists have succeeded neither in achieving an organic united front with the nationalist movement nor in forming strong separate groups of their own. In the Near East, repressive measures have until now also been effective in curbing Communist activities. Communists have thus had to rely instead primarily on groups with whom it would be impossible to gain or maintain control of the Muslim countries, namely the religious and ethnic minorities, and thus to keep weak what they cannot yet hope to control.

Any increasing inability of Islamic traditions to supply effective responses for twentieth century problems, however, would yield growing opportunities for the spread of modern substitutes. Workers and intellectuals, under the pressure of political and economic conditions and the disintegration of tradition-bound social groups, may become increasingly willing to desert the family solidarity for membership in a radical group. Among the illiterate the distinction between the radical Western doctrine of nationalism and the radical Western doctrine of Communism is sometimes not sufficiently clear to keep men's allegiance from drifting from the first to the second. Among intellectuals, the distinction between a nationalism controlled by the upper bourgeoisie and a Communist régime controlled by themselves may be too important to sustain their permanent loyalty to the nationalist movement. When conditions are desperate enough for such a step Muslims will rather enquire who will get them most quickly what they want, than whether the rigidities of Stalinism in philosophy, science and bureaucratic administration, may offer less than democratic alternatives—in the long run. Against these deep-running currents, reliance on repression by often unstable governments may not be effective. Moreover the present situation in the Near East bears important similarities with that of pre-revolutionary Russia:

> "As Russia became industrialized, in a sudden rush of activity which took place around the turn of the century, there were clearly apparent the absence of an adequate tradition of responsibility and restraint on the part of the capital-owning class and a general lack of preparedness, on the part of the state and of society generally, to cope with the new strains. This industrial development, proceeding largely on the basis of individual enterprise rather than of widely distributed corporative ownership, was marked by sudden ac-

cumulations of fortunes in the hands of individuals and families not always well prepared for such affluence. Often the mode of expenditure of wealth appeared to other people as little creditable as the means by which it had been accumulated. . . . Such conditions often bore greater resemblance to the pattern of early Industrial-Revolution capitalism, as Marx had described it, than to conditions in advanced Western countries. This fact may well have had something to do with the success of Marxism in Russia. The Russian industrial capitalist was generally visible in the flesh, and as often as not he had the rotundity and sometimes (not always) the vulgarity and callousness of the capitalist of the early-communist caricature."[1]

Though the Communist parties of the Arab world at present lack the strength to win power on their own or to make it attractive for the U.S.S.R. to come to their aid through a "war of national and class liberation," should conditions in the area continue to deteriorate, there are no automatic brakes or barriers which can be called into play. In such circumstances, Muslims may join local Communist parties even without viewing Communist ideology as the sum of their total aspirations, hopeful merely that it may be the first step out of a morass. But with that majority of Muslims who are discontented with their lot but have not yet lost their religious faith, a totalitarian and subversive doctrine arising out of Islam is likely to find more adherents within the next two decades than Communism.

NEO-ISLAMIC TOTALITARIAN MOVEMENTS

If the various leftist movements of the Arab world champion a kind of radical immanentism,—in the case of the Communists, without God, other movements propose a type of radical transcendentalism, rewarding submission and self-sacrifice to a God lost sight of. If economic conditions continue to grow more oppressive, if the struggle against the remnants of foreign control is allowed to remain a substitute for domestic reform, and if the conflict between traditional and modern values breeds greater intellectual, emotional, and social confusion, a religio-political totalitarianism in Islamic dress is likely to marshal greater popular support in the Arab world than any other movement.

Neo-Islamic totalitarian movements, like the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, are generally thought in the West to be composed of "extreme nationalists." If that were so, they would constitute part of the worldwide spread of Western concepts and attitudes, and however extremist, be responsive to the usual modes of bargaining on questions of national interest. Western nationalism, whether chauvinist or enlightened, socialistic or liberal, is part of a general

[1] George F. Kennan, "America and the Russian Future," *Foreign Affairs,* April, 1951, p. 353.

historical movement which exalted reason, secularization, progress, and the rights of the individual. However much religious emotion, having become detached from the supernatural, devoted itself instead to the cult of state and tradition, re-defining human progress, increasingly, in parochial, territorially exclusive, terms, Western European nationalism remained concerned with the establishment of strong, stable, efficient states in which the people felt themselves to be represented.

Neo-Islamic totalitarianism is, in truth, not nationalist. When orthodox Islam justified and appeared to explain secular tyranny, the social revolts of the masses of the Arab world took the prevailing vocabulary of Islam and turned it into a heterodox Ṣūfī ideology of protest against their rulers. Now, when the concept of nationalism justifies and appears to explain the dominance of Western states over much of the rest of the world, the protest against that domination invokes and transforms once again the notions of the prevailing ideology for a heterodox revolt against it. But being also the modern heir to the earlier messianic social movements of revolt in the Muslim world, neo-Islamic totalitarianism is able to take advantage of the symbols and content of main streams of Islamic tradition, perverting their meaning for political ends. Thus the neo-Islamic movements project into modern political life a more archaic approach to problems, deriving most of their emotional and conceptual characteristics from an age which long preceded the evolution of modern nationalism.

To the detribalized masses, and to those who are unemployed and feel superfluous, to those who have no stake in the evolving structure of Arab society and find that its ideology of secular nationalism does not overcome the growing isolation of man from man within the state, this movement promises a radical reversion to a past in which equality, exclusiveness, and security had been based on small homogeneous communities and a sense of religious solidarity and even spiritual identity between ruler and ruled. It revolts against the abstraction of the state bound by geographic limits which separate the believers from each other. Against the state's bureaucratic machinery, and the pragmatic opportunism of political parties, it reasserts the natural bonds of a group joined by tribal loyalty *('aṣabiyyah)* and united by a religious faith which must compel universal acceptance and absolute involvement.

At a time when the old value-system no longer finds general assent and the community is in fact split by diverging interests, such a program inevitably distorts the older values and fails to come to grips with modern problems. The compromise between religion and established interests which marks orthodox Islam here also disappears.

This is an attempt, confronted by an antagonistic and disintegrating social order, to reassert the unity of law, morality, and society. It is a program which can unite uprooted urban intellectuals and tradition-bound masses. It wins members among those reformist religious leaders whose romantic re-creation of Islam helped to inspire it, and who, in fear of the further encroachment of secular nationalism, share the movement's puritanical intent to rescue a desecrated and degraded tradition. It is especially attractive to those white-collar workers and members of the lower middle class who resent the monopoly of power and wealth of those who dominate in the new national states, are without influence upon existing cliques and parties, yet fear the pressure for change among the masses below them.

Unable, despite the grandiose vision of its program, to solve the basic issues of Westernized modern life—technical and economic progress, peaceful relations among rival sovereignties, and the reconciliation of freedom with security—neo-Islamic totalitarianism is forced by the logic of its own position and dynamics to pursue its goals through nihilistic terror, cunning and passion. Like Fascism, its movement represents the institutionalization of constant struggle and extreme tension. Intent upon the destruction of secular, rational authority in a region where even the modern state is still divorced from society, it is basically uninterested in possessing an efficient, stable state machinery except as an additional useful tool in exerting its power over the community. For neo-Islamic totalitarianism, the locus of power resides in the movement itself. The movement is already the actualization of the spirit of *'aṣabiyyah* and, like the Communist Party, is so organized as to make neo-Islamic totalitarianism the whole life of its members. It would supply members to fill all strategic posts in the community, and support, control, co-ordinate, and check the machinery of the state. Like the Communist Party, it would act directly or indirectly as the intermediary between the human and administrative components of the state.

Unlike orthodox Islam which, despite its monism, compromised between the realms of the spiritual and the material, neo-Islamic totalitarianism would make absolute demands upon the spirit, and in its puritanical fanaticism abolish individual privacy through methods hallowed by the precedent of earlier Islamic tyrannies and improved upon by Western techniques—secret police, censorship, terror, propaganda. Unlike Communism, it is indifferent to theory and concrete definition of program, and is held together more by common mood than by common aims. Among those living in a condition of helplessness, misery, and degradation, and overwhelmed by a sense of their own inefficacy and dependency, yet trained, during their struggle for national independence, in conspiratorial activities, this movement satisfies the drive for bold action. It permits

those who feel superfluous to join a group which deems itself the élite among Muslims and, in the framework of its ideology, to become model citizens. To the confused and disillusioned, it promises the possibility of the resurrection of the splendor and power of Islam, and through its conspiratorial organization, a sense of participation in a powerful mystery. The powerless it keeps powerless. It extinguishes their individuality while increasing their sense of importance. By creating an intense sense of identification with the leader of the movement, it stimulates an intoxicating sense of nihilism in which the willingness to sacrifice one's self becomes more important than the object for which the sacrifice is made. Those who are sent to death as robots have the illusion of having died as martyrs.

Like National Socialism in Germany, neo-Islamic totalitarianism is neither nationalist nor socialist, though it frequently uses the vocabulary of both to attract followers. Socialism presupposes, among other things, an interest in human welfare. It is doubtful whether the neo-Islamic movement anywhere holds economic doctrines which would alter significantly the material foundations of present society or go beyond such measures which are found necessary from time to time to strengthen the economic position of the movement itself. Its vague references to Socialism may in time lead to a split within the movement between those who stress power and those who would stress economic welfare. But, in the interval, it permits Communists to infiltrate the movement and use its cell organizations for their own anti-Western purposes. In estimating the long-range success of this movement, it must thus be kept in mind that despite the emotional fervor it can marshal, it lacks any significant program for the improvement of economic conditions in the Arab world.

Instead, it drives toward the expansion of its power both within the group and without. Within, its dogmatic interpretation of Islamic purity sets no limit to the need of expanding its control over all aspects of the community's life. At the same time, in un-Islamic fashion, it relegates the consensus of the community to a secondary role and arrogates complete authority to the movement, or perhaps to an absolute leader who incarnates the movement. Neo-Islamic totalitarianism compensates for this diminution of the importance of the Arab individual at home by exaggerating the importance of the Islamic community in the world abroad. Far beyond a concern for the recapture of Palestine, it advocates conquest, aggrandisement, and imperialism. Not recognizing the concept of national sovereignty—which implies equality and consequently at least a formal rationality in an anarchic world—it demands the expansion of the community of believers, an entity which knows no territorial limits.

Given the resources of the Arab world, such a drive is not likely to be spectacularly successful. It can be sufficiently destructive, however, to undermine the stability of the area. In times of crisis, some elements of the Arab ruling groups may try to use the force of that ideology as a bulwark against another revolutionary ideology which they could not hope to control at all. It is doubtful, however, if, after calling upon the movement for aid in times of danger, the present Arab ruling groups would be capable of controlling the spirit of the movement once it has been released. Although in the forseeable future, neo-Islamic totalitarianism is capable of attracting more support among more levels of the population than the Communist Party and is already stronger in number than the latter, it is not likely to be a permanent bulwark against Communism. Its very dynamics prevent it from attaining stability or permanence. Led, in the view of the people, by a mahdī figure who has come to set history once again in tune with the fundamental order of the universe, the movement's success, thought possible only if it truly embodies that order, becomes the touchstone of its genuineness. That is why its success, implying sanctity, can quickly win adherents. This movement, born of desperation and lacking a positive program, may well succeed in destroying existing secular authority and undermining belief in the conservative dogma of orthodox Islam.

Amid the chaos and unrest created by the campaigns of neo-Islamic totalitarianism, the Communist Party, associating itself with the movement's struggle against "Anglo-American imperialism," and the only other party in the Arab world as well disciplined as the neo-Islamic movement, could slip into the driver's seat. Though the Communists, being emancipated from Islam, are not as much in tune with the psychology of the people as the neo-Islamic movement, they understand the sociological trend of the Arab world better. The demand for equality which the neo-Islamic movement raises but satisfies only through equality of self-sacrifice, the Communist Party, taking advantage of the cry for radical solutions stimulated by its religio-political competitor, can promise to fulfill by insisting not only on self-sacrifice but also on the radical reconstruction of society.

Neo-Islamic totalitarianism therefore offers no lasting obstacle to the spread of Communism. Both movements are only temporarily responsive to bargaining. Both are immune to arguments. Arguments are disqualified by the mere fact that they belong to or defend a world which their followers cannot or will not accept, or are based on a reality which the movements promise to change. Both can be disproved only by another stronger, and better, reality.

MANFRED HALPERN

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The Qur'ān as Scripture. By Arthur Jeffery. New York, Russell F. Moore Co., 1952. pp. 103.

Readers of *The Muslim World* will be glad that the articles contributed by Dr. Jeffery through the four numbers of 1950 have been given permanent shape—enriched by two additions. These are a specimen in Kufic of a few 'āyāt from a Samarqand Qur'ān, and a lecture delivered in Jerusalem towards the end of Dr. Jeffery's year as Annual Professor at the American School of Oriental Research. This was delivered under the chairmanship of 'Aref el 'Aref, well known throughout the term of the British Mandate, and who was then Assistant District Commissioner and later Mayor of Jerusalem. The lecture was given one month before the United Nations decided on the partitioning of the country; so that we conclude that it was about the last function of this nature attended by members of the three monotheistic groups in the Holy City. There is therefore the interest of local history as well as the fruits of scholarship behind this work—a *multum in parvo* with its references and footnotes (there are just 200), reminiscent for its compact industry of Dr. Jeffery's other works. For anyone who has to lecture on or desires to study the Qur'ān and the Prophet, this little book will be standard for many years. As a Muslim friend said about one of Dr. Jeffery's lectures in the courtyard of the Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem two decades ago now: "He knows more about it than we do."

Perhaps the purport of the book will be best set out by a quotation from the fourth chapter:—

> "In discussing the Qur'ān as Scripture it is not enough to show that Muḥammad took over from his contemporaries a particular theory of the nature of Scripture, and one particular form of the doctrine of a prophetic order with which Scripture revelation was associated, as well as a concept of the mechanism of revelation whereby Scripture was made available to mankind, we must ask what Muḥammad did with all this as he built Scripture into the religion of the community he was organizing in Arabia."

The previous chapters are working up to this discussion. We are introduced to the meaning words as they were understood both by Muḥammad and those to whom he gave his message. Use is naturally made of Quranic contexts, but parallels from other religions are brought into the service of interpretation. Comparative Religion is a necessary concomitant to the study of Islam. The ideas connected with *kitāb, lauḥ, ṣuḥuf* like *rasūl* and *nabī, ḥukm* and *waḥy,* to say nothing of *kāhin* and *rūḥ,* spring from a well-known ancestry—about which more seems to be known with the passing of the years. In assuming that his listeners grasped the meaning and intention of his language Muḥammad advanced step by step to the realisation of his "succession" as being guide and warner to his community, in which capacity "peculiar experiences" might come his way. The way of inspiration too, *Tanzīl,* is the common conception of Semitic nations through the Old Testament to the "Descent of the Spirit" on the apostles at Pentecost. The "notion," however, was not confined to

Judaism and Christianity before Islam. Dr. Jeffery's partial answer to the question of Muḥammad's justification of his Scripture as opposed to that of the Jews and Christian communities in Arabia will repay study, for his contemporaries, like ourselves, must have known in many cases that his allusions to the Bible were often quite inaccurate. In the final chapter the Textual History of the Qur'ān is dealt with; and here as elsewhere the range of the author's knowledge is impressive and encouraging.

"The Qur'ān," says the author in the Preface, "is Muḥammad's book." A sentence or so earlier he had stated that "Islam could not exist without the Qur'ān." The subsequent pages prove the truth of the former judgment; it may well be that the coming century will witness an internal struggle that has not really obtruded itself in 1,300 years, as to whether the Qur'ān will ultimately be sufficient for the future of the Islamic system. If only we could look into the years ahead in Pakistan, Egypt, Persia, the Hijaz! Is it the *final* re-statement of the faith of Abraham? For those who would understand the Prophet of Arabia with his book and his religion this little work is indispensable. We are grateful as we lay it down—as grateful as a previous generation of students and missionaries to the Subject Index of Dr. Stanton's "The Teaching of the Qur'ān."

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

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The Christian Interpretation of Religion. By Edward J. Jurji. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1952. pp. 318.

Professor Jurji of Princeton Theological Seminary in this volume presents a very satisfying sequel to the book, *The Great Religions of the Modern World* which he edited in 1946. His long interest in comparative religion has led him to "attempt to depict the religions —extinct and living, primitive and advanced—in the light of the Gospel." He further elaborates this purpose in the sub-title: Christianity in Its Human and Creative Relationships with the World's Cultures and Faiths. The author, who was born in Latakia, Syria, has had the advantage of personal contact with several of the world's great religions, and this has enabled him to present his scholarly treatment from first to last with a real missionary spirit.

Starting with the basic idea of "revelation" as applicable to all religions, he distinguishes, however, between "general revelation" and "special revelation." The former he holds to be based on the statement of Paul that God has not left Himself without a witness to any people, however much this "witness" may have been disregarded in the development, for example, of Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, and Buddhism. On the other hand, Judaism and Islam are presented as examples of the manner in which a religion may accept both general and special revelation and yet lose the way "through the intrusion of an anthropocentric standard of interpretation." In short, it is the "incomparable Gospel" which "is the sure guarantee of Christianity's superiority over all other religions," since "it is a God-given power unto salvation which in order to be comprehended must be received in faith, and in order to be appreciated must be tried on the anvil of piety and worthy living."

With scholarly care and keen insight he examines the historic

development and present-day status of the eight living religions of the world, and attempts to discover how Christ may be interpreted to Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims and others, "without syncretism" and yet in thought forms that would be congenial to the seeker after God. In harmony with this suggestion it is interesting to note that in India special effort is being made through the development of Christian *ashrams,* and the preparation of special literature for Hindus and Muslims to reach seekers after God with the Christian message of the Gospel.

It is in Chapter XII, which considers Islam in its content and outreach, that readers of our Quarterly will find much to interest them. Here are recounted the profound changes which have overtaken the Muslim World from the beginning of the century: the Russian Revolution of 1917 that "spelled chaos in the Muslim soul"; the Turkish revolution and the abolition of the Caliphate; the fate of thirty million Muslims in Communist China today; and the Partition of India which in 1947 created Pakistan when "a nation of 70 million Muslims emerged as a vigorous new state and became a full partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations." The author rightly observes that this "awakening of Muslim nations, their gradual emancipation from the yoke of illiteracy and isolation, and their liberation from imperialism, is one of the major facts of our time. The two sources of weakness which continue to foil the powers of growth are, on the one hand, secularism and socialism and, on the other, the stubborn resistance of the traditionalists in almost every walk of life. Dynastic and petty national strife have frustrated the desire for cooperation and service of a common cause. All but dead is that pan-Islamic spirit which marked the turn of the century."

Referring to the critical situation in which the Muslim masses find themselves, the author declares that "a new vision, coupled with drastic measures is needed if the tragedy of the Muslim masses is to be relieved." In his judgment a "self-critical reformation of Islam" is required, and further . . . "Islam's best hope for the immediate future seems to lie in a friendly orientation toward Christianity." At the same time, however, the author is careful to point out that "only when the relation of Christianity to Islam is fashioned after the pattern of Christ's relation to us will the approach of the Christian to the Muslim be right."

The last chapter properly brings into focus the responsibility of Christianity in the present world situation, which demands the recognition of "mighty religious forces in Asia" and the necessity "to evolve a theology adequate to deal with" them. He declares that "Nothing less is required of us than a new consciousness and an awakened sense of responsibility, determined to interpret Christianity in terms appropriate to its genius and universality and commensurate with the relevance of God's truth to the needs of seekers throughout the entire world."

In this connection he discusses the well-known attempt of Professor Hocking who, it will be remembered, "explored the prospects for a new world faith." However, Professor Jurji is convinced, along with many others, that there can be no compromise in regard to the fundamental issue: "that the Gospel hinges on the centrality of Jesus Christ, and that in basic Christianity the redeemer gives a

purpose and a meaningful design apart from which a world faith is unthinkable."

While the author presents this book as a comprehensive and intimate consideration of the various religions of the world in the light of the Gospel . . . a study in comparative religion . . . it is in fact more than this. It is also a challenge to Faith. It sounds forth afresh the Master's great commission to His disciples: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." And do it now!

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The Religions of Mankind. By Edmund Davison Soper. New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951. pp. 253, $3.50.

This third (revised) edition is a welcome and useful book guaranteed by thirty years testing of the original contents. A treatment of the Jains and the Sikhs has been added, but the original 330 pages of 1921 have been reduced in this edition to 232.

It makes easy reading, is well-written, couched in up-to-date lay phraseology expressed in a Protestant neo-orthodox vein, its statements carefully guarded and non-apologetic. It represents the gist of the original work somewhat simplified—perhaps too simple here and there. It is not as thorough as the original; its chapter on Christianity is very sketchy and more cautious in its treatment of the miracles and of certain doctrines, such as the Trinity. Its chapter on "Mohammedanism" is about as before, still somewhat weak and even sentimental. Matter, of course, has been added with reference to the contemporary scene among the many faiths, and the Bibliography has been brought up to date, with wise suggestions for "further study" appended to each chapter. It has a flavor brewed from a recent two-years' visit to India when the author served as a visiting professor of the history of religion in a central Indian institution. He is still in active service in America as a professor of the history of religions.

This third edition, sketchy as it is, is still to be commended as a general introduction, but every faithful reader owes it to himself and the vital subject to look carefully into the sources quoted for further study. The seasoned student of the vast historical field will be interested in the contents of this book for what they may be worth, but will consider them somewhat elementary. Many important items have been omitted, and some paragraphs (p. 130, for example) are undiscriminating. Hinduism is given the same space as formerly but lacks thoroughness, and Buddhism suffers by a reduction of its 32 pages to 19. The newly written matter (pp. 242-245) on Christianity should not have made the rise and expansion of Communism a "body blow" to Christianity alone—as it seems to have done. A mere catalogue of events, as in the section on Islam in the world today (pp. 223-226), is not enough, however,—a more seasoned integration should have been accomplished, especially because of the author's view that "the religion of Muḥammad is a world religion, the most powerful of all the rivals of Christianity in its attempt to win mankind" (p. 222).

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Christ's Hope of the Kingdom. By Alexander McLeish, World Dominion Press, London, 1952, pp. 166 6/-

The author, who is well-known for his surveys of the Church's world-wide mission, believes that the time has come when the charge laid by Christ upon His Church, first to preach the Gospel unto all nations, needs to be studied afresh. His book has two main parts: (1) The Hope of the Kingdom in the New Testament and (2) The Hope of the Kingdom after two thousand years. In the first, he analyzes, as his title emphasizes, Christ's own hope, the nature of which the disciples misunderstood, in that they divorced their expectation of His early return from the accompanying condition of the Gospel's proclamation. St. Paul it was who supremely understood that the obligation of the preaching was inseparable from a worthy cherishing of the hope. Thus he speaks also to our condition today.

Concentration on present duty should override speculation about the last things. Nevertheless the fulfilment of duty must be sustained by hope of the Kingdom. The Church can only fulfill its world mission as its ordinary members recognise the elemental obligation of witness. Too many "Christians" are uninstructed and silent. In thus revitalising the whole Church minority groups, not least in the Younger Churches, may have a special role in the economy of God, since the venerable is often also "at ease in Zion."

This is a timely work, worthy of serious study. Yet it would be surprising if the author won general approval for some of the ideas he states or implies. He suggests, for example, a concentration on the people who "respond." But is not responsiveness too often involved in the worth or unworth of our obedience to the great commission? As such should it be also our criterion, equating as it were God's mercy with our success? Surely not! Or what of Islam?

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Islam in Ethiopia. By J. Spencer Trimingham, Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. 299, xv. 6 maps.

This work, well produced and attractive in form, is welcome. It traces the intricate and often obscure history of the three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam in that part of northeast Africa which is commonly known as The Horn of Africa,—Abyssinia, Eritrea and Somaliland. Of those religions records exist, but behind them is the background of a huge amorphous mass of paganism, of which no records exist. All three alike struggled against that overwhelming weight of primitive barbaric superstition and, though in the main victorious, none have emerged from the struggle unscathed. This book will, no doubt, for a long time be the standard authority on the cultural and religious history of north-east Africa and a valuable contribution to the study of religious evolution.

Judaism probably came to Ethiopia from the Jewish diaspora already settled in Egypt before the Babylonian captivity. Several feasts established after the exile have never taken root in Ethiopian Jewry, and here alone in Judaism sacrificial worship at the altar still survives, whilst rites are observed which are unknown elsewhere,

some perhaps adaptations of pagan originals. At one time Judaism was a political power in Ethiopia, but the latest Jewish rulers in a position to strike coins belong to the end of the ninth century A.D. Jews, the Falasha, still remain, a community of some sixty or seventy thousand members, deservedly respected and loyal to their ancestral religion.

Christianity also entered Ethiopia from Egypt, probably in the fourth century A.D. It was well established in the Ethiopian kingdom of Axum in the fifth century when it was known to the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, but its chronicles do not commence until late in the thirteenth century. It was an off-shoot of the Egyptian Church with which it is still closely allied, and is peculiarly interesting because its liturgy gives evidence of the primitive shape of the Egyptian (Coptic) rite, showing forms which have long been obsolete in Egypt itself. Christians now form the largest religious body in Ethiopia and are politically dominant, but their church in its isolated position has had an arrested development and has been subject to both Jewish and pagan influences.

Islam entered Ethiopia from a different direction, not from Egypt but crossing the Red Sea from Arabia, reaching first the coast of Eritrea towards the end of the first century of the Hijra and then spreading along the lowlands. The main task of Islam lay with the vast hosts of native African pagans, mainly Galla, Somali and 'Afar, who spread over the lowlands in later times,—an expansion which assumed great proportions in the sixteenth century. Those immigrants gradually settled down and received the religion of Islam from Arabia. It seems essential to observe that the task which fell to Islam was radically different from that which faced Christianity.

Like Judaism and Christianity, Islam encountered the formidable *vis inertiae* of ancient paganism, but unlike the other two religions it also had to meet the aggressive force of racial immigration on a wholesale scale bringing with it a new force of paganism from the dark continent behind. At the beginning of the 16th century Islam and Christianity were on the defensive and in a minority compared with paganism. At the beginning of the 19th century the Galla invaders were the mainstay of Islam in Ethiopia, otherwise Islam was stagnant and so was Christianity. A revival began soon after 1818 when Egypt intervened, and now the respective numbers are, Christians 3,846,370, Muslims 3,245,391, and pagans 1,738,163. In Somaliland and the neighboring lowlands the numbers are, Muslims 1,306,300, Christians 200, pagans 10,000. In that area there are no Jews. From this it is obvious that Islam has concerned itself chiefly with the lowland population, some of which is nomad, some settled in villages and towns. This distribution, no doubt, was due to the nearness of the low-lying coast to Arabia, and it was that lowland country which was most open to fresh invasions from the interior.

Both Islam and Christianity in Ethiopia have suffered from pagan contacts, but the results are more social than religious. There are survivals of paganism in popular superstitions, such as often is the case in Europe as well as in Africa. Islam had no organised missionary propaganda and for the most part was spread by the peaceful penetration of Arab traders. Usually the first step means no more than the adoption of Muslim dress and ornaments, and the use of such articles

as tea and coffee. Then Muslim names begin to be used and the popular feast which closes the fast of Ramadhan is observed, but not the fast itself, and the charms and amulets purveyed by itinerant magicians are bought and used. These superficial details dispose those who adopt them to give attention to the religion of Islam, and in course of time they adopt Muslim customs; a place is marked out for prayer, orientated towards Mecca. Occasionally it is used for *ṣalāt,* liturgical prayer, and the prohibition of eating flesh with the blood is observed.

The sharī'a or canon law of Islam does not readily fit in with the tribal customs of Africa, but "what Islam requires primarily is reverence for the Law even though it is not observed." (page 274) This seems psychologically sound. Reverence is felt for the Law, disapproval for non-compliance with it; disobedience produces a sense of guilt, and finally the Law is accepted as the rule of life from a sense of duty. When those who adopt a Muslim mode of life accept it loyally in place of a crude and barbaric paganism, then attention is directed to the education of children and Qur'ān schools are established in which the education is primarily religious. This takes place when the social group is settled in villages or towns, less readily when it is nomad. In some of the larger towns, such as the Somali town of Zaila', students are helped to pass on to the Al-Azhar university in Cairo, where a special riwāq is reserved for candidates from Zaila'.

The early legislation of Islam was planned for an urban community at Medina, and subsequent expansion brought the Muslims into contact with a society governed by Roman law. Muḥammad himself found the desert Arabs his most difficult converts. There had to be a compromise, as Christianity compromised with the Teutonic tribes who invaded the Roman Empire. Islam strongly urges the reform of family life to conformity with the sharī'a. Amongst the first practices to be abandoned are exogamy, pagan initiation, and the levirate, though this last is sometimes retained in a modified form. Contact with western nations is said to have helped to enforce the sharī'a. European powers prefer to deal with people who have a fixed code of law.

The Islam of Ethiopia appears to be entirely Sunni. No mention is made of any sectarian form, though there is reason to believe that Ismā'īlī propaganda has been active in Mombasa further down the east coast of Africa. Three of the four legal systems of Sunni jurisprudence are followed in north-east Africa, the Shāfi'ite being the most prevalent. The Hanbalite system has no followers. This is a little surprising, as that system is commonly supposed to have its last stronghold in Arabia. Since Ibn Sa'ud's conquest of the Hijaz in 1921, Wahhābī principles have prevailed in Arabia and have spread across the Red Sea to the Somali and Galla. Recent events show that they have now considerable weight in the Muslim world.

Dervishes of the Aḥmadiyya order, founded in the early 19th century A.D., hold Wahhābī views and about 1870 spread amongst the Somali of north-east Africa and then founded collective agricultural holdings in Galla territory. An off shoot, the Ṣāliḥīyya order, founded in 1887, has spread to the Somalis and also established collective farms. In many parts the dervishes discharge missionary func-

tions, rather like the mediaeval friars. The orders which have extended to Somali and Galla territory are puritans of the strictest kind and in Mecca, before the conquest by Ibn Sa'ud, suffered for their opinions. Now, with the establishment of the Sa'udi dynasty, Wahhābī views are in the ascendant. It would be interesting to know how far those opinions have affected the Somali and Galla peoples. That the dervishes have formed collective farms rather suggests that they prefer monastic retirement and withdraw from public life. Attached to these dervish orders are confraternities of laymen, rather like the "third orders" of the Franciscans and other Catholic friars. In Egypt such confraternities have made a deep impression, fostering a real sense of personal religion and spiritual devotion. The various races of north-east Africa, Abyssinian and other, seem to have a naturally religious temperament.

A classified bibliography would have been welcome.

De Lacy O'Leary

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Ahmadiyyat, or The True Islam. By Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, the American Fazl Mosque, Washington, D. C., 1952. pp. 246.

In his "Civilization on Trial," published in 1948, no less a person than Arnold Toynbee expressed the opinion that the Aḥmadīyya movement represented the most significant element in contemporary Islam and that a tremendous future might await it. Less noted, but perhaps in this respect more sober, assessors have tended to regard it as ephemeral and inconsequential. Such wide difference of opinion is indicative of the enigmatic character of the revival led by Hazrat Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad and developed in the two movements, the Qadian and the Lahore Aḥmadīyya, which stemmed from it. A fresh and thorough evaluation of their thoughts and works, on the part of Christian scholarship, is urgent and over-due.

This publication will be an important document in such a task. It is, in fact, a third edition, for American readers, of the book first published in 1924 and written by the second successor of Hazrat Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad, leader of the Qadian section. The approach throughout is magisterial, and in some points, as enigmatical as the movement itself. Take this passage:

"It must now be perfectly clear that *Ahmadiyyat* and *Islam* are one and the same thing, and that by Ahmadiyyat is meant that real Islam which God has manifested to the world through the Promised One of the present age. It is based wholly on the Holy Quran and the Law of Islam, and yet it is entirely different from the other existing sects of Islam in its teachings and its doctrines. . . . When I refer to the teachings of Islam I shall be referring to the teachings which are in consonance with the point of view of the Ahmadiyyat Movement irrespective of the fact whether they are accepted by other Muslims or not, and when I refer to the teachings of the Ahmadiyyat Movement, the reference will be to the teachings of Islam and not to any new doctrine or teaching." (p. 22)

Such identity by assertion has apparently no feeling for the underlying issues. In what sense is the renewing "Prophet" related to the

finality of the historic Prophet i.e. Muḥammad? What has become of the role of the community of the faithful in a doctrine which asserts itself as validly "Islam" irrespective of its acceptance or rejection by Muslims? What is to be said of that which renews and is at once *entirely* different and not new? It would seem that Muslims are to have no satisfactory answer. The Islamic validity of the Aḥmadiyya is both self-evident and incontrovertible, at least in Qadian.

These, of course, are questions for Muslims. But there are deeper ones also implicit in the Aḥmadiyya version of "The True Islam." How was it that the most active enterprise in recent Muslim revival had to take a form so strange? When the tension between the old and the new gives rise to assertive claims like those of the Prophet-Messiah does it mean that quieter, healthier forms of ordered renewal have been denied? Was the extremism of Mirza Ghulām part of the character which Islamic fixity compelled the will to revival to take? There is another question too. Underneath the extravagancies of the earliest Aḥmadiyya claims can be discerned a yearning after a converging fulfillment of various religious hopes and aspirations. Is the dogmatic manner in which the Founder claimed to bring the many to the one fulfillment a measure of the failure of religious communities to grow into truth and to take their differences seriously, humbly and constructively? If so, the Aḥmadiyya, creating yet another stranger dogmatism, will hardly help to understanding—save, perhaps, as a melancholy rebuke.

To turn from these fundamental reflections to the book itself under review. It offers a brief history of the Movement and treats in turn the four Objects of Religion: the Islamic Conception of God, Morals, the Social Aspect of Islam and Life after Death. When the writer deals in general truths, there are not a few passages which commend themselves to any honest mind, and some which attain even to moving heights.

> "How can a man then feel the love which he is expected to have for God, without having seen Him? . . . Let men first perceive the glorious face of the Beloved, and bask in its sunshine, so that their hearts may be melted and be filled with love. No religion can create in the hearts of its followers true love for God unless it opens the door to His meeting."

Emphatically: "unless *He* opens the door to His meeting," the Christian might prefer to say. How profoundly right. Yet when the author turns from these general truths to their particular realization in the Aḥmadiyya he becomes assertive, credulous, apparently insensitive to the honest doubts he raises along the way. This book, concentrating on positive exposition, happily lacks the contentious, disputatious attacks upon Christian and other faiths in which some other Aḥmadiyya publications involve themselves. But the basis of the intolerance is plain. The movement has "The True Islam" and those outside it, Muslims, Christians or others, must first accept its claims. Thus the would-be unifier becomes yet another piece of divisiveness. There is no doubt that the Aḥmadiyya movement faces the whole household of Islam with an internal challenge to self-definition, with the problems of change, heresy, continuity and renewal. The final answer is yet to be heard.

But equally it faces Christianity with a new phase of its ever-exacting Muslim obligations, with a summons to the large heart, the patient mind and the steady will, to the sort of answer worthy of Christ.

A.K.C.

The Arabs in History. By Bernard Lewis. Hutchinson's University Library. Hutchinson House, London, 1950. pp. 196. With maps, chronological table, outline bibliography and index. 7/6d.

Besides being a readable and reliable—although necessarily brief—survey of over thirteen centuries of Arab history, this book raises and adequately examines a few fundamental issues which are crucial for understanding the past accomplishments and failures as well as the present problems and aspirations of the Arabs.

As is to be expected, the historical narrative occupies the greater part of the book. Over three-fourths of the text are devoted to the description of the historical development of the Arabs, from their early origins in pre-Muslim Arabia, through their expansion and entrenchment in Asia, Africa and Europe, to their eventual decline and recent awakening. The salient characteristics of each of these successive stages are analyzed with insight and discernment. Events and developments, which form the landmarks and backbone of the narrative, are not merely cited in their chronological sequence and described in terms of their causal connection, but are also seen against the background of their respective social, economic, political and cultural contexts. Perhaps a sketch of the pre-Arab history of Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and even Persia, and a brief characterization of their respective social-economic systems and civilizations prior to their "arabization," would have contributed to the fuller appreciation of the salient features of the later Islamic civilization and to a clearer understanding of certain permanent factors in the history of the region which explain, at least partly, some of the decisive developments of Arab history.

A brilliant chapter summarizes the essentials of Islamic civilization. It is appropriately prefaced by a brief examination of its diverse elements and sources—those contributed by the Arabs (their language and their religion) as well as those contributed by other peoples, cultures and faiths. The interplay of these sources is asserted to have resulted not in a "mere mechanical juxtaposition" but rather in a "new creation." The branches and manifestations of this "new creation" are then analyzed, reference being made in each instance to the influence of previous cultures. Some attention is paid to the all-important role of translation—not only as an avenue of mediation but also as in its own right a manifestation of the cultural impulse. The problems of originality vs. imitation, creativity vs. assimilation, rationalism vs. intuition, revealed values vs. humanism, essential as they are to the proper appraisal of Islamic civilization, have their place in this study. The chapter concludes with a tentative phenomenological characterization of Islamic civilization and society. It is here, where the author's insight is most discerning, that the present reviewer wishes the analysis were also more grounded and more penetrating. One would have liked to see the author inquire into the possible relationship between the various features of Islamic

civilization and the essential characteristics of the Muslim vision of reality. The relations of "Arabdom" and "Islamism" to each other, and of each to Muslim-Arab being, society, history and civilization merit responsible examination.

The concluding chapter presents the modern and recent history of the Arabs in terms of the rising influence of the West upon Arab fortunes. This procedure may be open to question on many grounds. The present reviewer agrees that the impact of the West has been one of the most decisive factors in determining the course of recent Arab history, and considers the question of his attitude to the West—existential no less than social, economic, political and military—one of the most crucial questions facing the Arab today. Nevertheless, he feels that it is not the landmarks of Western-Arab encounter in their bare external data, and in their sheer happening that ought to be the main object of attention, but rather the variety of response—submission, emulation, awe, resentment, rejection, confusion—which those events stimulated in the Arab mind, the impact of these reactions upon the future course of Arab history, and the challenge they present to the West.

FAYEZ SAYEGH

New York

The Arab Refugee Problem. By Joseph B. Schechtman. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. xi (3) pp. 137.

Here we have in a revised form a relatively well-informed but slanted account of the Arab refugee problem from the viewpoint of one who upholds the official Israeli position. An impressive amount of detailed information, from United Nations and other sources, including certain Arab ones, reads plausibly until the reader realizes that it has been culled to substantiate a preconceived thesis: namely, that the Arabs' unhappy plight is their own fault; that Israel cannot be expected to permit them to return to their former homes; and that while Israel is ready, with qualifications, to do something to re-imburse them for their lost properties, the task of resettlement in adjacent Arab lands is one which the United Nations and the Arab countries will have to undertake. When certain Zionist enthusiasts in the United States were loudly protesting that there was no such thing as an Arab "refugee" problem, Schechtman candidly admitted the basic fact in two previous monographs, published in 1949, entitled *Arab Refugees: Facts and Figures* and *Resettlement Prospects for Arab Refugees.* A revised form appeared in 1950, the present work being a third rewriting. It provided the basis for the memorandum submitted to the United Nations in 1951 under the sponsorship of nineteen prominent American clerics and laymen entitled *The Arab Refugee Problem: How it can be solved: Proposals submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, December, 1951.* (pp. 117). A sharp critique of the memorandum was written by Fayez A. Sayegh, under the title *The Palestine Refugees.* (Published by Amara Press, Washington, D. C., February, 1952. pp. 61.) Here then is a reasoned statement of the Israeli viewpoint. Let us examine it with that in mind.

The opening chapter on *Arab Mass Flight: Origin and Responsibility* throws the blame for the panic flight of the Arabs upon the

Arabs themselves, especially their leaders of the Arab Higher Committee and the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, and upon the British. The outbreak of Arab violence against the Jews as soon as the United Nations had announced the Partition scheme of November, 1947, is cited as having produced an atmosphere of bitterness which made the Arabs fear retaliation if the Jews in Palestine were to gain control of the areas where they lived. The efforts of Zionist leaders to reassure the Arabs that they would be secure in their lives and properties and granted full citizenship in the forthcoming Jewish state went unheeded. Well-to-do Arab families began to quit the main cities in the Jewish area as soon as Partition was decided upon. Yet more left as the Israelis resisted and beat back the attacks of the adjacent Arab states, absorbing even more territory than granted by the Partition plan. Much stress is laid upon the exhortations of Palestine Arab leaders and of the adjacent Arab Governments to quit the country in order to clear decks for a military struggle.

A second chapter on *Arab Refugees: Number and Distribution* discusses the varying estimates of the numbers counted as refugees, dismissing as inflated the figure of a million given by the U. N. Disaster Relief Organization in 1949 as needing relief distribution, but accepting the figure of 635,000 as possibly correct. It notes however that the Clapp report of 1950 found 726,000 Arab refugees outside of Israel.[1] To this must be added those whose economic life was ruined by the partition of the country.

The *Repatriation Issue* is based on Article 11 of Resolution 194 (III) adopted by the General Assembly of the U. N. on 11th December, 1948, wherein it was resolved "that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for property of those choosing not to return. . . ." The Arabs' insistence on this resolution is rebutted as inimical to the welfare of the Israeli State because the Arabs would "blow up the Jewish State from within." Arab leaders are cited as viewing the return of the refugees as a Trojan horse manoeuvre which would make easier a second assault of the Arab states on the State of Israel. Much stress is laid upon the fact that there is nothing for the Arabs to return to: their homes destroyed, their villages laid waste and their lands in the hands of new owners. Moreover, a new kind of industrial state has been erected in which they would not be at home. Arab leaders themselves proclaim that repatriation would not restore good relations with the Israelis. And finally it is

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[1] The Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (General Assembly: Official Records, 8th Session: Supplement No. 13 [A-2171], New York, 1952), p. 2 reports 880,000 Palestine refugees as of 2 June 1952 distributed as follows:

Lebanon	104,000
Syria	84,000
Jordan	470,000
Gaza	204,000
Israel	19,000

However since then Israel has assumed responsibility for those within her borders.

asserted that in no instance has repatriation proven a solution of the problems which have been caused by the displacement of 30,000,000 peoples in other areas in the last three decades.

Despite this the chapter on *Attempts at Political Solution* details the pressure exerted by America upon the Israelis to re-admit the refugees, and the temporary offer to permit the return of 100,000 as part of an over-all settlement of the relations of Israel and the Arab states, provided they were ready to be resettled in parts of Israel to be determined by the best interests of the Israeli State. But even this offer was revoked in 1950 after a year during which the Arabs refused the terms and Israeli public opinion showed itself strongly opposed to the Government's offer.

The rest of the book is devoted to various attempts by the U. N. to develop schemes which would transform relief measures into some kind of resettlement in adjacent Arab lands. The opposition of the refugees themselves and most of the Arab Governments to resettlement are detailed, and the failure of the schemes is related. But much space is given to showing how much room there is for well-financed resettlement schemes in Jordan, Syria and Iraq.

The point of the book is clear: Israel has no responsibility of the refugees' plight and cannot be asked to sacrifice her own welfare by taking the homeless people back. And while Israel is ready to make certain contributions to resettlement costs the major burden must be borne by the U. N. and the Arab states.

Schechtman would exonerate the Israelis of responsibility for the existence of some 750,000 refugee Arabs by an attempt to show that it was an unreasonable flight from Israeli-dominated areas instigated by the Arabs' own leaders. He grants that Israeli irregular troops belonging to the Stern group and the Irgun had been guilty of an atrocious massacre of men, women and children to the number of 240 at Deir Yassin in April 1948, but he does not think it was sufficient to justify the panic flight of the Arabs. Nor indeed might it have done so had it stood alone. Unhappily the Zionists in Palestine had long disregarded Arab feelings. Their entry into the country had been forced through against the overwhelming opposition of the Arab inhabitants. Many Zionists had shown a desire to rid the country of the Arabs by some sort of forced resettlement elsewhere. Under the plausible excuse of arming their colonies against the recurrent Arab raids, the Zionists had created a clandestine para-military force which was not only equipped to defend the colonies but to make an aggressive move to seize the whole country when the opportunity was ripe. Meanwhile the Palestine Arabs, who had resorted to violent opposition to Zionist expansion when other means of protest had failed, had been so effectively disarmed by the British Mandatory regime that when the British withdrew they were militarily helpless before the well-organized Zionists. In their now helpless condition they might yet have been persuaded that they would be secure when Israeli forces took control of the towns and villages as the British surrendered the thorny mandate had they not remembered that uncontrolled elements among the Zionists in Palestine had since 1938 carried on a campaign of murder and terrorism against any who stood in the way of Zionist ambitions. They had turned against liberal Jews who counselled a moderate

policy towards the Arabs. Finally, when World War II was over, the same forces began attacking the personnel of the British administration in a series of murders and bombings which horrified the world. On the eve of the British departure the hapless people of Deir Yassīn were slaughtered at night by an overwhelming military force.

It may well be true that the Arab Higher Committee counselled the Arabs to leave with the promise that they could return when the Arab armies were victorious. But the Arabs of Palestine would not have forsaken their beloved homes and their ancestral lands had they been able in the years past to trust the good intentions of the Zionists and their ability to control the "lawless" elements which had perpetrated the long series of outrages.

The Israelis cannot acquit themselves of responsibility for the Arab flight. Their Zionist predecessors had built up a reputation for selfish nationalism and even ruthlessness which set the stage for Arab flight just as truly as did Czarist and German policy pave the way for the Jewish flight from those countries. How strange that now they have little sympathy with those who fled for like reasons as themselves. The Arab flight is indeed a tragic failure for the Zionists. Schechtman's attempts to suggest that the refugees, still in makeshift camps, still unemployed, still lacking schools, hospitals and what may be called "homes", are in any sense better off under the feeding program of the U. N. than they were before is too foolish to need refutation. 750,000 Arabs are refugees, almost in sight of their old homes, now occupied by Jewish immigrants to Israel.

The existence of this bitter, homeless mass of Arabs is a threat not only to the stability of the whole Middle East, but also to the future of Israel. There can be no peace for Israel among her Arab neighbors until the problem is solved. And if a general war again shakes the world, Israel, isolated among hostile Arab countries, will find that her inept policy has united them into fanatical foes.

Meanwhile Israel has the opportunity to be generous, and to redeem her reputation. Instead of coldly ignoring the sentiment which makes the Arab refugees long to return to their old homes, a sentiment with which Zionists of all people should be quick to sympathize, Israel has it in her power to offer a chance for the refugees to return if they would abide by the laws of the country. It is a poor excuse to say that the Arabs' former homes and shops have been taken by Jewish immigrants, their villages demolished and their lands given to new cultivators. Where are those oft-repeated protestations of the Zionists before the Royal Commission that they could make the land fruitful enough to accommodate both the Arab inhabitants and millions of immigrant Jews as well? And if they argue that a country with a large Arab minority would be unmanageable and militate against the welfare of the Israeli State, how is it that when Hitler made an identical plea in order to get rid of the Jews they called it a crime against humanity?

It will cost the Israelis much to welcome refugee Arabs back. It will demand new provision for the refugee Jews. It will demand the expenditure of Zionist funds. It will demand tolerance and understanding. But the result will be well worth the price, if it shows that the Zionists genuinely seek the welfare of that part of the world into which they have come unbidden, unwelcomed, and in reliance on

the support, moral, political and potentially military, of great nations outside of the Middle East. Doubtless a good many of the Arabs after seeing the changes in their old land, and having had an opportunity to dispose of their properties, will of their own accord go back to settle with their goods and families in more congenial Arab countries, but the fact that they have been given the opportunity to make the choice will dissipate the hatred.

It may well be a risk for Israel. But it is a risk of generosity, sympathy and understanding worth taking. And it is a lesser risk than the present situation. Moreover it would at once ameliorate the condition of those Jews, age-old residents of Arab countries, who have become objects of suspicion and hatred among their Arab neighbors, because of the Jewish national sentiment developed by Zionism.

Given the conviction that this is the only genuine solution of the refugee problem, Schechtman's chapters on how the U. N. could resettle the Arabs in adjacent lands must be read in the light of it. True, there may be large opportunities for development of those countries to accommodate their own growing populations, and improve their standards of living. But let us not promote them merely as a way of salving Israel's conscience for having attempted to solve one refugee problem at the cost of creating another. Moreover, Schechtman's summary of the development potentialities of the nearby Arab countries is overly optimistic and unrealistic. One striking example is to include in the potentially cultivable area even places where the average annual rainfall is but eight inches, a pitifully inadequate amount for unirrigated land in a place where eight to nine months of dry heat follow a short winter rainfall.

Development of Arab lands? Yes, by all means. But the gravest problem is the moral one: and that remains for Israel to solve.

CHARLES T. BRIDGEMAN

Jerusalem and New York

Arabian Highlands. By H. St. J. B. Philby. Published for The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1952. pp. 771, with map in cover pocket. $8.50.

This is a book of special interests and values. No business-minded publisher could have been expected to assume financial responsibility for its appearance in print. Fortunately there are individuals and institutions with special interests that promote and sponsor activities which do not have immediate and wide-spread public appeal, but which have great interest and permanent value for special groups.

It is the geographers, geologists and naturalists, the students of primitive society and religion who will thank Mr. Philby and his sponsors for making this work available to them.

The book contains detailed descriptions, made on the spot, of the western Arabian mountainous areas. The drainage systems of the regions traversed are set forth with a fullness and accuracy that only those who know the importance of water to Arabia and similar arid lands will really appreciate. In that land the normal name for rain is *raḥmah,* mercy, even though flood rains in the past have brought permanent destruction to valley civilizations there and not infrequently still bring death by drowning to individuals.

The book's detailed descriptions of the terrain with its careful listing of the thousands of geographical names make for heavy and slow reading. But the reader is made to know also that the actual travel through the thick jungles and deep sands was much more tedious. Further, from this consistently itemized account of the country two important pieces of information are strongly impressed upon the reader.

The first concerns Arabia's population. Although much of the land is desert and a large part of the peninsula is called the Empty Quarter, the other areas have always supported as many people as perennial warfare and native ability to make use of known resources would allow. But now a new era has begun for Arabia. Already it has shown that both peace and plenty can flourish in that land where once every man's hand was against every other man and insufficiency of livelihood, security and contentment was the common experience of all. There is now no reason why, under strong, wise and just rule, the peace of two decades should not continue permanently, for now, in Arabia as elsewhere, the ambitious have unlimited scope for greatness in human service. These recent decades have revealed untold resources under the deserts, only part of which need be used to develop Arabia's surface resources beyond all previous expectation. Arabia can easily support more than double its present number of people, provide a prosperous livelihood for them all, and enable the nation to participate in world affairs to the extent of their inherent capacities and their inherited and new ideals.

In the councils of the United Nations one of the smallest Eastern countries has provided the noblest leadership in the movement for the highest, best and most needed human rights for all individuals and all peoples in all the world. It is not too much to hope that Arabia, where austerity and simplicity of life have produced the ideals of personal independence and of unstinted hospitality toward strangers, will provide champions of individual freedom of conscience and voluntary universal brotherhood and ultimately outlaw war and perpetuate good will among men. Arab nobility of character and chivalry of conduct have long been world famous. Arabia's greatness will never consist in the quantity but rather always in the quality of its people.

The second lesson taught by this book is that every smallest part of the country has its own name and is under some ownership, private, tribal or governmental. These special names are known, if not generally, at least by some. Mr. Philby sought always the best guides he could get, and in addition welcomed the help of those with intimate knowledge of any locality. In earlier years oil prospectors have paid dearly for land they used without previously securing rights from owners who kept themselves unknown until those rights became valuable. There is a splendid book with the name, "In Unknown Arabia." The adjective belongs, of course, to the West. The new maps of Arabia are being filled with place-names. No one has had a larger part in that service than Mr. Philby, and no book of his records more names than this.

Another feature of this book that should be mentioned is its human interest. That is the feature which gives Doughty's *Arabia*

Deserta its incomparable value. Readers of *Arabian Highlands* would have appreciated fuller accounts of the actions and ideas of the author's companions and guides, in order to understand indigenous life in Arabia more completely. That would, of course, have lengthened the book tremendously; perhaps it would have become comparable in length and, as a whole, in value, for in one place it provides a needed correction, to Doughty's account. There are, however, sufficiently numerous reports of encounters with persons, frequently women, to brighten many pages, just as the events themselves lightened the traveler's tough and weary toil.

Arabian Highlands also has religious significance. The author is an Englishman who has added Arabia and Islam to his loyalties. When he returns to his native land he is honored for his notable contributions to human knowledge. There his Islamic faith is his own private concern. In Arabia he has privileges that he can enjoy only because he is a Muslim. It may be that the descriptions he has given of primitive life and uncouth conditions in Arabia will win for the Arabs other devoted friends who will be concerned for their material welfare and also their still greater social and religious advancement.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Hartford, Conn.

The Arabian Peninsula. A Selected, Annotated List of Periodicals, Books, and Articles in English. Published by the Library of Congress. Washington, 1951, pp. 111, 80 cents.

The Library of Congress has made a valuable contribution to the Middle East field in publishing this Bibliography covering publications on the various parts of the Arabian Peninsula: Sinai, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Aden and the Aden Protectorate, Muscat and Oman, Bahrein, and Kuwait. An exhaustive list of publications dealing with those areas is not the aim of this Bibliography. Its purpose is rather to include only the principal English-language publications up to mid-1951, which emphasize the geography, current social and economic conditions, politics, and the natural history of those areas. The Bibliography also refers to basic histories and biographies of the men who have recently played leading roles in the Arabian Peninsula. Publications regarding the study of linguistics are excluded from this Bibliography and no attempt is made to list all works concerning literature, philosophy, or the numerous publications on Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad. However, there is mention of the other bibliographies and general reference works which deal with these subjects, such as the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and the Middle East Journal's *Bibliography of Periodical Literature,* for the benefit of those who seek a more complete listing of publications on the areas in question.

The arrangement of the Bibliography, which is by subject for the most part, is clear and an index giving authors' names and book titles is appended for the sake of further clarity and convenience. The publications listed which are in the Library of Congress are provided with Library of Congress location symbols.

The selection of publications is, in general, adequate for the

purposes of this Bibliography. However, a bibliography concerning the Arabian Peninsula, where Islam originated and still plays so vital a part in all phases of life, might have emphasized more strongly publications on Islam and the Prophet. Such important works as MacDonald's *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory,* Muir's and Margoliouth's books on Muḥammad, and the various translations of the Qur'ān are not mentioned. The spelling of Mr. Roy Lebkicher's name is incorrect on pages 95 and 105. But these criticisms should not detract from the credit which the Library of Congress' Near East Section deserves for preparing this Bibliography. It is not only a convenient reference for the specialist, but also a way of stimulating public interest in a part of the world which has been seriously neglected by the West. It is to be hoped that it can be kept up-to-date and perhaps eventually expanded to include a more complete list of publications in both English and foreign languages.

DAVID S. DODGE

New York City

Great Britain and Egypt, 1914-1951. London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1952. Information Paper No. 19. pp. 216. 12/6.

The Royal Institute provides us here with an extremely timely revision of its Information Paper first published in 1936. The problem of Anglo-Egyptian relations has been central to Egyptian affairs from Britain's occupation of the country in 1882 right down to today, and very likely will continue to be for some time to come. What we get from this study, therefore, is more than an account of one aspect of Egypt's foreign policy—we get a fairly complete review of the motives and methods of Egyptian politics.

Since Egyptian sovereignty was recognized in 1922, the evolution of Anglo-Egyptian relations has centered in the negotiation for and signing of the treaty of 1936, the testing of that treaty during World War II, and Egypt's effort since then to effect its abolition. The story of events and negotiations leading up to each of these critical periods (the account ends with the Egyptian Parliament's abrogation of the treaty on October 15, 1951) is fairly and clearly presented, with a flow that makes for easy and at times even exciting reading. The reader is warned by the authors that this is the presentation from a British viewpoint and to compensate there has been added an appendix giving a summary of the Egyptian case. Nevertheless in the reading of it, there is no detectable bias and the gentle sarcasm directed at times toward the intricacies of Egyptian reasoning would appear to be deserved.

Although the presentation is not a British point of view in the sense that it argues the British case, chooses its facts, or distorts their interpretation, it is British—or one might say, Western—in an even more basic sense. This is in the premises which are adopted, premises which the Egyptians do not recognize. Even the summary of Egypt's case in the appendix does not get to the bottom of these differences, for it concentrates on the principle of *rebus sic stantibus* around which Egypt's argument before the Security Council in 1947 revolved.

The first premise on which Anglo-Egyptian relations was built is that a state does not need to be completely sovereign to be independent. A corollary premise is that mutual commitments by unequal partners work equally to the advantage of the weaker and the stronger. Britain, in general, subscribes to both these premises; Egypt does not. The treaty of 1936, for example, binds the two countries to a perpetual alliance, presumably on the theory that their individual interests will be served in this fashion. This is more demonstrable in the case of Britain than in the case of Egypt, which might, on some future occasion, prefer to be protected by, or rather allied with, some other great power which can provide it with the services and opportunities it desires. The very fact that sovereignty is limited by a perpetual treaty is likely to weigh more heavily on the weaker power than on the stronger. The case of the Sudan condominium presents the issue even more clearly, for here Britain has interpreted the agreement of 1899 on its own terms and even by force following the ultimatum presented to Egypt upon Sir Lee Stack's murder in 1924.

A further premise upon which Britain has apparently acted is that if a formula can be found, the spirit may be ignored. This has been apparent, again, in its interpretation of the Sudan condominium, also in the 1946 Bevin-Sidqi protocol calling for "unity between the Sudan and Egypt under the common Crown of Egypt." The art of diplomacy may lay in compromise, but to effect a compromise there must be at the least mutual interest and at the best mutual confidence as well. The tragedy of relations between Great Britain and Egypt has been the deterioration of confidence, robbing any treaty of alliance of its vitality. One cannot help but conclude, after reading the details of treaty revision negotiations, that the importance of this element has been overlooked in the need to hold on at all costs. The Introduction properly suggests that "the British have been thinking primarily in terms of imperial defensive strategy . . . while the Egyptian Government's and people's range of vision was almost entirely restricted to the narrower confines of the Nile Valley." The implication is that both sides might re-establish confidence, if they would, by re-adjusting their sights.

A worthwhile concluding chapter discusses the financial and economic relations between the two countries. This is entirely appropriate because many of the factors governing political relations have been present in the financial operations of the cotton trade and the handling of sterling balances. A final extremely brief Epilogue sketches events between the abrogation of the treaty and the resignation of Ali Mahir in March 1952. Appendices include articles from the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of 1899 regarding the Sudan, notes on the constitutions of 1923 and 1930, the text of the treaty of 1936, notes on the regulation of the Nile water and the Suez Canal Company, and Egypt's argument before the Security Council in 1947. Packed tight with chronological information, the book nevertheless offers the reader much opportunity for thought on one of the chronic issues of the Arab world.

HARVEY P. HALL

The Middle East Institute
Washington, D. C.

Turkish Crossroads, Bernard Newman, Philosophical Library Inc., New York, 1952.

Readers interested in getting a survey of Turkey today will find such in a concise and inclusive manner in Bernard Newman's Turkish Crossroads. He has accomplished the massive job of relating in a fast moving but rather disorganized fashion the political and economic situation of Turkey and at the same time offers just enough background material to link up historically the present with the past. The book is not technical. As Newman states: "This is not a student's textbook. I shall merely try to present a cross-section of Turkish life, aims and ideas as I encounter them." In a rather extensive trip through Turkey Mr. Newman gathered opinions, ideas and data on Turkey from the Turks either through interviews with influential personnel or in daily contact with those he chanced to meet. His understanding and interpretation are keen. At times one feels the need for a greater and wider basis for some of his statements yet he freely admits that some of his views need further verification.

For a person wishing to make a tour of the country this book is valuable for the author outlines points of interest and tells in a chatty and casual manner incidents he encountered in his trip to these places. The contents of the book are an excellent beginning for a person interested in a study of contemporary Turkey.

The title "Turkish Crossroads", in a double sense, is the constant theme of the book. First, Turkey has been and is the crossroads of Europe and Southern Asia. Second, Turkey is standing with determination at the crossroads today. But, "The fact that Turkey stands at the crossroads must not be interpreted as a sign of indecision. I found little indication of a desire to turn abruptly to right or left, and none whatever to turn around and go back: the Turks will go ahead." His material supports this thesis.

W. A. Edmonds

Talas-Kayseri and Montreal.

I Sing in the Wilderness. An Intimate Account of Persia and the Persians. By Olive Suratgar. London, Edward Stanford Limited, 1951. pp. 222. 12/6.

Olive Suratgar (née Hepburn) is an Englishwoman who went to Persia in 1936 to marry Lotfali Suratgar, a young Persian poet and professor in the University of Teheran. They had been fellow students at the University of London. To this new venture Mrs. Suratgar brought the background of a cultured, comfortable home life, a university degree, some experience in journalistic work, a mind exceptionally alert and discerning, and—most important for her happiness—a devoted and admiring love for her husband. Her dreams of Persia as a land where rose gardens and nightingales created a perpetually romantic atmosphere quickly faded in the reality of her struggle to adjust herself to her new environment with its lack of many common comforts which had seemed essential to her existence in England. But in spite of discouragements she found color and beauty and fascination in people and places; every day living was full of high adventure.

I Sing in the Wilderness is the record of her personal impressions and experiences of Persian life, for the most part in Teheran, as she shared this life most intimately. The grand scenery of the country,

its festivals, social customs, bazaars, home life, servants, as well as the more serious subjects of education, royalty and oil, are discussed and described in great detail and in vivid style, often humorous, always interesting.

Mrs. Suratgar states in her book that "the Persians' exceptionally keen sense of humor makes them readily accept any well-intentioned criticism that is presented in humorous and kindly vein." One who is familiar with the Persian scene through long years of residence in the country cannot doubt the author's regard for truth and accuracy. Yet the book in many places leaves one in amazement at its candor. While spoken criticism, softened by disarming friendliness of expression and voice, might be "readily accepted", educated Persians are proud people and are particularly sensitive to what is said of them in print. This spirit they have shown many times in the past. Mrs. Suratgar writes so frankly of many details which, in spite of the affection she undoubtedly feels for her adopted country, will surely be resented by many Persians.

The chapters entitled *Ala Hazrat* (Reza Shah Pahlavi, father of the present Shah), *Soldiers of the Shah* and *End of a Great Shah,* give much information. These with the chapter on *Oil* are the most substantial, valuable part of the book. The press has given little attention to some points in the discussion of Oil which Mrs. Suratgar brings out, one being the contribution made by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to education, social welfare and orderly town planning in backward areas where the Company has worked. Particular emphasis was laid on health conditions and recreation. Mrs. Suratgar's account, written shortly before nationalization of the oil was accomplished, is a fair treatment of the whole subject.

In her Preface, Mrs. Suratgar states that at the time she went to Persia, "marrying a Persian meant severing all social intercourse with one's countrymen, indeed with any Europeans." The reader admires Mrs. Suratgar's frank recognition of this unfortunate situation and its far-reaching results. In reference to Oil, she quotes a Persian in high position as saying that "the English employees of the Oil Company had allowed a splendid opportunity to slip by; if, in the early days of the concession, they had taken pains to learn the Persian language, to make themselves at home in the country and to find friends among their Persian fellow workers, they might have become Britain's most effective ambassadors in the Middle East."

That the author's own attitude toward her husband's country and its people was one of sincere friendship and growing appreciation of its culture and the finer qualities of the Persians, including their warm-hearted hospitality, is evident throughout. It is foreshadowed in a statement she makes relative to the early days. Cut off from her countrymen and not yet master of the Persian language, she was lonely and found comfort in the friendship of an English woman whose husband was an officer of high rank in the Persian army. Of this friend she writes: "She was English all through; she even had an uncle in Yorkshire which for me was the very core of England! But I noticed in her the completion of a process which had already begun in me: a rounding-off or smoothing-down, as it were, of the sharp angles and edges of insularity and prejudice, a process

which is both inevitable and salutary if one is to make a foreign country one's home, and which I firmly believe broadens one's vision whilst lessening one's conceit."

The title of the book—*I Sing in the Wilderness* was a bit puzzling until we recalled those oft-quoted lines in Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam:

> "Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
> A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
> Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
> And Wilderness is Paradise enow."

Mrs. Suratgar has not made us feel that her Wilderness is Paradise but she sings—and who would not stop to listen to one singing in a wilderness?

ANNIE STOCKING BOYCE

Berea, Kentucky

Muslims in Arabia and Africa. By Professor Mahmud Brelvi. Karachi, Ferozsons Publishers, 1951. pp. 337, 15 maps, 21 photographs and App.

There are some books less significant for what they contain than for the reasons why they have been written. This compilation is one of them. Dedicated to Iqbāl and a companion volume to the author's *Muslim Neighbours of Pakistan,* it is a general survey of the Muslim countries of the Near East and Africa. The writer feels that no non-Muslim survey has ever done justice to these lands. Moreover, it is appropriate that Pakistanis should be intimately aware of the rest of the household of Islam. This book, therefore, aims to supply the general facts and data upon which such acquaintance can be built. It is thus another evidence of the vigorous self-consciousness of contemporary Islam, another token of that sense of solidarity which wants to be better informed and which feels that even the informing must be Muslim. Too long, the author would seem to say, geography, history, sociology have been undertaken for us by those who are not of us. If, in that way, the book aims to fill a gap, perhaps it would be fair to say that the gap is psychological rather than actual. That there are other works is witnessed by the author himself in his Bibliography. The thing then we must ponder is not so much that he felt *a* book was needed on these topics, but that a *Muslim* book was needed.

One of the troubles is that the changes in this area are so rapid as quickly to put such topical surveys out of date. No less than six of the kings or leaders featured here no longer reign or lead. The photographs do many of their celebrated subjects less than justice while some of the maps are too old or general to be of use. The author's procedure is to take each country in turn and, after reproducing its flag, to describe with statistics its population, industries, personalities, history and politics. This makes for somewhat of a medley, with the names of Air-lines hard on the heels of the Crusaders, and currency information in close company with the Assyrian invasions and Pontius Pilate. Here and there the reader meets with surprises: the only river allowed to the Lebanon is the Orontes; the United Nations is "the family affair of a powerful few;" integrity is "a virtue so rare among Arab politicians;" King Ibn

Saud is described as "this bearded giant (who) looks to the whole world like a great Jinn out of *The Arabian Nights;*" and "the great and radical vice in the structure and policy of the Arab League is that its component parts are governments." There are also some curious misprints in the Arabic of the glossary—and elsewhere. It might have made for a more durable work if the author, who is a well-known historian in Pakistan, had not tried to combine a handbook with a study, and had not sought both to describe the ephemeral and interpret the essential. The book cannot be said to have presented Arab and African Islam to Pakistani Muslims with the adequacy which both they and it deserve.

A. K. C.

Ḥayati. By Dr. Aḥmad Amīn, Matba' at Lujnat-il-ta' lif wa-al-tarjamat wa-al-nashr, Cairo, 1950, pp. 346.

Autobiography is one of the most exacting forms of literature and, well-done, one of the most rewarding. A noted leader of modern Egyptian letters here recollects and reflects, with an attractive simplicity of style and directness of mind. The result is a revealing and memorable document of human experience and endeavor. The author has won an esteemed place by his trilogy on Islamic history—the Dawn, the Forenoon and the High Noon of Islam, and by his numerous articles and essays, many of which appear in the seven volumes of his Faiḍ al-Khāṭir. His biography takes us into the highways and byways of his scholarly researches and into the background of his boyhood and early youth in Cairo at the turn of the century. Oppression by village tax-collectors drove the author's father and uncle into Cairo where by dint of hard study in Al-Azhar the father was at length able to establish himself. His fourth child, Aḥmad, was born under the shadow of a great domestic tragedy, in which his twelve year old sister preparing coffee for family guests was burnt to death through a spark kindling in her hair.

It was not the only sorrow. Years later two brothers succumbed to sudden illness. Readers of Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain's *Al-Ayyām* will find the bereavements he so graphically described sadly reproduced in these pages by his colleague. A deep-seated sadness of spirit, a certain self-confessed incapacity for joy, became the daily companion of his heart and mind. Accentuated by his father's stern discipline, the rigours of Khuṭṭāb education and Al-Azhar only served to intensify this earnest disposition. Yet it did not lack its inner tenderness, and if the author is frank about the hard forces which made up his heritage he is not reproachful. His study of his father—a paternal despot and yet a man of abiding loyalties and tenacious faith—is at once restrained and passionate, as venturing to regret but not ceasing to admire a life which moved only between mosque and school and study, which never strayed out of a monopolising engrossment with the Qur'ān into the life of authorship, the thrill of politics, or even the simple indulgence of laughter with his children. Indeed it became a prolonged struggle for the writer's European mentors,—whom he sought when, as an established Arab scholar, he took up the study of English—to juvenate a spirit they thought prematurely old.

Many intriguing figures move across these pages—fellow Azha-

rites with their uninviting ways, the coterie of junior scholars banding themselves into the now familiar *Lujnat-al Ta'līf,* the political lieutenants of Zaghlūl Pasha in the national struggle, the denizens of a remote oasis town and their relations with their *Qādi,* the mosque preacher who talked of the iniquity of European travel to a Friday audience never likely even to leave its village, the English spinster—amateur teacher and correspondent of "The Times"—all these and many more, neatly drawn, kindly criticized and made awhile your intimates. The writer is as honest with them as with himself. Nor are people all. There are situations sensitively told. How does a mature scholar choose his wife? How does he keep domestic peace for authorship when she is chosen? How does he evade the problem of servants—for these must be both efficient and ugly? How does a judge cope juridically with the estrangements of the divorce-seekers? How does a father mediate between the example of the past and the climate of the present as his own children grow?

It goes without saying that this is an important personal source book of Egyptian life and thought in the last half-century. In several themes, however, it is quite silent and quarriers will be disappointed. This, however, is only because the author sticks to his last. It is autobiography he promises, and it is autobiography he gives—chaste, modest, intimate, and discerning.

A. K. C.

Prayer. By Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, the American Tract Society, New York, 1951, 1952, pp. 31.

This tract on Prayer, the last from the pen of the late Dr. Zwemer, comes as a fitting epilogue to a long life of spiritual service. The book contains four chapters, the first dealing with the nature of prayer. Isaiah spoke of it as "taking hold of God." This we must do with our minds, our emotions and our wills. The second discusses where and how to pray—in solitude, in God's House, on ground made holy by past experience. The power of prayer (the third chapter) is in no way inconsistent with true science, and is active both in the realms of grace and nature. The tract concludes with a devotional commentary on the Lord's Prayer. This little work, free from the anaemia which sometimes characterises devotional writings, and with its apt word and deep sincerity, will undoubtedly help many to understand the meaning of Christian prayer.

Gwilym ap Robert

Hartford Theological Seminary, Conn.

Islamic Constitution. By Kemal A. Faruki, Karachi, Khokhropar Gateway Publications, 1952. pp. xiv + 146.

The reaction of the Muslim World to the challenge of the West in the realm of constitution making took various forms. Turkey and Iran under Reza Shāh tried to separate religion from the state, suppressing any attempt by the former to interfere in the authority and the secular programs of the latter, and encouraging a personalistic concept of the nature and function of religion. Most of the Arab states (excepting Saudi Arabia and Yemen) followed a middle of the road policy. They allowed religious organizations a certain latitude of public functions, e.g., the Religious Courts, but discouraged any attempt

on their part to control or hamper the development of secular political life. The idea underlying this policy seems to be that at a time when social institutions are undergoing such a rapid change, it is wiser to follow a moderate interim policy with the hope that some sort of a balanced structure might follow in the near future. Pakistan, a state that in the author's words owes its very existence to an "Islamic momentum" (p. 27), is in the process of setting up an *Islamic* constitution, a constitution that is expected to be a practical political embodiment of the Principles of Islam.

This book is a product of the discussions and controversies centering around this Pakistani experiment. According to the author, the road out of the "wilderness" lies in the "apprehension" of the eternal truth of Islam, and in giving this apprehension a practical political "expression." One of the most interesting points, in fact the center around which the general argument of the book revolves, is the conception of man as the "viceregent of God" on earth (Ch. 7), "to whom ultimate sovereignty on earth has been delegated by God." (p. 75) The author does not, however, involve himself in the theological and philosophic bases and defence of this point, yet he is clear and explicit concerning the consequences of this assertion. As the viceregent of God, man has the inherent power and right to form the institutions under which he lives, and of delegating to his elected representatives whatever powers he deems necessary for the welfare of the community. But, the writer argues, they do not have the right to legislate for God:

> "On this differentiation is based the entire structure of man-made laws according the Islamic conception and before society makes any law, it must decide whether it is a law of society or a usurpation of a law of God. A man-made law court can never arrogate to itself the functions of God on the Day of Judgement for acts against God. Consequently the most that an Islamic society can do with regard to an individual's duty towards God is to create favourable conditions for individuals to voluntarily perform what God requires of them." (pp. 50-1)

Under the name of "The Parliamentary Agency of the Viceregents", the following political institutions are suggested as the practical "expressions" of the Islamic principles: (1) Legislative Agent: (a) House of Belief: To be composed of representatives elected indirectly by the "mosque (or other belief) constituencies" every five years with provisions for recall. (b) House of Function: To be composed of representatives elected directly on the basis of "occupational function", or the source of livelihood. These two houses are to function as a unit with special prerogatives for the House of Belief. (2) Executive Agent—The Agent General: to be chosen by a simple majority by the two Houses for five years. He is removable by a consensus (75%) majority. He is also to name a council of five Deputy-Agent-Generals and a cabinet to aid him in his executive functions. (3) Three Autonomous Agents: The Judicial Committee for the selection of judges; the Administrative Committee for the selection of government servants; and the Commission of State for the purposes of keeping a permanent census and of supervising elections.

This machinery seems to be adequate and may very well succeed in a state like Pakistan, but it is hard to know what is particularly *Islamic* about it. Excluding the names and the fact that one of the

houses is elected in places of worship, it seems to the reviewer that in one form or another all of these suggested institutions exist in states that claim to be democratic. On the other hand, suppose an enlightened and religious dictator should rule a Muslim country with only passive consent of the governed. Would Mr. Faruki call such a rule against the principles of Islam? Again, what is there to guarantee the political machinery described by him against degenerating into the worst form of mob dictatorship. Surely not the fact that part of the representative body is elected in mosques or the pious exhortations of the author that they should elect the "best in character." Finally, the author, like many other modern reformers, argues on the basis of the experience of the Islamic community at the time of the Prophet and of the first four Orthodox Caliphs. Does this mean that the history of the Islamic community in the last thirteen centuries has nothing or little to teach us? It is time, I think, that the dangers, as well as the usefulness, of this position be more generally recognized. Like Western Civilization which Islam is facing today, Islam itself is a totality of basic beliefs, and of traditions and institutions that have to be grasped and understood in this totality. This is the challenge that Pakistan, perhaps more than any other Muslim community, faces at this stage of its history. Pakistan has shown courage and resolution in its attempt to meet this challenge. To be lasting, the outcome has to be more than a partial compromise.

MUHSIN MAHDI

Chicago, The Oriental Institute

Rulers of Mecca. By Gerald de Gaury, London, George Harrap & Co. 1951. pp. 317, 21/-.

The idea behind this book is a good one. Everyone who has even a slight contact with Islam knows the importance of Mecca in the Muḥammadan world, and the significance of the annual pilgrimage to its shrines, but few ever think of the succession of rulers, sometimes strange foreign rulers, who from pre-Islamic days to the present, have had the Holy City in their charge. There is an abundance of material for the writing of this history, for not only are there historical works dealing directly with the story of the city, but there are countless incidental references to Mecca and events there to be found in works whose direct concern is with some quite other subject. A student with adequate linguistic competence and proper training in historical method would find this an excellent field for research. Meanwhile Mr. de Gaury, who as an officer in the British Army has had periods of duty within the Arab and Islamic world, has provided this very popular account of the chief groups of these rulers of Mecca, an account which, in spite of the extraordinary inaccuracy in the spelling of foreign names and words, both Oriental and European, makes interesting reading. Some of the story, dealing with the mediaeval period, is based on unpublished sources which the author had translated for him, and leads to the hope that these valuable documents will be published now that this particular attention has been called to them. The illustrations are excellent. Some of those within the text are from drawings made by the author himself during his sojourn among the people.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University, New York

Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society, Vol. XIII, covering the years 1947-1949, edited by Dr. C. J. Mullo Weir, 1951, pp. 65.

An article by Professor W. Montgomery Watt reviews *Some Muslim Discussions of Anthropomorphism.* "The doctrine of *balkafiyah* is a serious and by no means unsuccessful attempt to grapple with the problem of the relation of the picture-language of religious intuition to the metaphysical theology connected with it." Professor Krenkow describes *The Construction of Subterranean Water Supplies during the Abbaside Caliphate,* and the late Dr. Richard Bell contributes a note on *Early Literary Contacts between Muslim Spain and the East.*

Maimonides, the Guide of the Perplexed, an abridged edition with Introduction and Commentary by Julius Guttmann, translated from the Arabic by Chaim Rabin, The East and West Library, London, 1952. pp. 233.

This is a new translation, in the Philosophia Judaica Series, of the masterpiece of medieval Jewish thought,—a work which, to a limited extent, attracted the attention of Muslims. Scholars will be grateful for this competent production, which bears pointedly upon some of the deepest issues of Muslim doctrine: notably the status of prophethood and its relation to rational knowledge and the ultimate purpose of the revealed Divine Law which constitutes religion. Is a rightly ordered society or the knowledge of God the final purpose of the Divine revelation? How too is the human will related to the Divine Providence? The brief Introduction does not attempt to study these issues in the Muslim context. This perhaps is understandable. The interest of the volume is with the Jewish heritage and the contemporary Jewish mind.

Egypt, What of the Church? By Geoffrey Allen, formerly Bishop in Egypt, Edinburgh House Press, London, 1952. pp. 24. 1/-.

One does not find in this booklet any attempt at analysis of the tensions and issues in contemporary Egypt. It was written, of course, before the advent to power of General Naguib. Rather the author concentrates on the Churches, Coptic and others, their life, their cooperation and their task. It would have been good to have brought together more intimately the doctrine and spirit by which the Church lives and the intellectual and social problems of Egyptian Islam as they are today. Yet, given its brevity, this booklet is a cry from the heart, alert, realistic, patient and responsible.

No Second Spring? A study of a Frontier Operation. By Dr. H. B. T. Holland, Church Missionary Society, 1951. pp. 53. 2/-.

Another booklet with a haunting question-mark, quoted from a war-time poem:

> "And shall my valley not be green again
> And must there never come a second spring?"

It is the story of the North West Frontier Province Mission down the years and the task ahead if a witness which has survived earth-

quakes and tribulations is to go forward worthily into a new day. "Gethsemane" says the poem, "is still in bloom." Can the Church bear the cost of fruitfulness in Quetta and Peshawar?

Diplomatic History of Persia 1917-1923. By Nasrollah S. Fatemi, New York, 1952, pp. 331. $5.00.

A book by a distinguished Persian, now at Princeton, presenting with documents the story of Persian relations with Britain and Russia during the years under review. The current situation cannot be understood if perspectives are too short. This book sets out to make them long. Though the present calls for more than retrospection on the part of all, this study at least helps to explain the past.

Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings In Israel. By L. A. Mayer, J. Pinkerfeld, J. W. Hirschberg (Introduction) and J. L. Maimon (Preface). By the Government Printer, Jerusalem, Israel. 1950.

This trilingual book, accompanied by some sixty photographs and plans, was published for the Committee for the Preservation of Muslim Religious Buildings, Ministry of Religious Affairs. It must have cost something to produce, familiar as "Palestinians" of all kinds are with books in three languages. It concerns as indicated those Muslim religious buildings situated within the boundaries of the State of Israel in Yavne (Yigneh); Ekron; Ramleh ("the only town which the Arabs actually founded in Palestine"); Lydda; Sarafand and Jaffa; Haifa, Safad and Tiberias, while the Zāwiyah al-Nabī Da'ūd is mentioned in the Introduction. Compared with the great monuments in the Temple Area or even the Mosque of Hāshim at Gaza, they are not very impressive. The photographs will probably prove the most valuable contribution of the book. While the name of Dr. Mayer lends lustre to any archaeological survey connected with "Palestine," we are not convinced that it was entirely a wise decision to produce the book at this period. But it is well documented and the format is clear. Occasionally there seem to be innuendoes of criticism of the "days that are past."

Young Pakistan. By Rafiq M. Khan and Herbert S. Stark, Oxford University Press, London, 1951, pp. 233.

The continuity of the nation in the flow of the generations is the problem of the educator,—a problem all the more exacting when the nation has entered a new era. This "Citizenship Reader for Secondary Schools and Adult Institutions" in Pakistan is an attempt to meet it. It is a manual of how responsible Pakistani education interprets Pakistan. As such it is obviously significant. It is of course instructive rather than argumentative. There is no exposition of Islam as such, but a brief treatment of the Muslim Indian past, the necessity of "the *Two* nations," the unity of East and West Pakistan, the culture, resources, government, literature and industries of the new State. The style is direct and simple. 'Allāma 'Abdallah Yūsuf 'Alī supplies a Foreword.

The Daystar, A Christian Quarterly, published under the auspices of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa.

This venture, begun in 1949, is particularly directed to the needs of readers in Africa and is designed to help clergy and catechists in Bible exposition, in theological study and in devotional life. Each number has 24 pages and the yearly subscription is 2/-, from Edinburgh House, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

Southern Asia, Publications in Western Languages, A Quarterly Accessions List, the Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Washington, D. C. Volume 1, January 1952, pp. 56, $2.00 a year. 50 cents a copy.

A record of the publications pertaining to Southern Asia received by the Library of Congress, including all monographs printed since 1945 and selected articles in periodicals since July 1951. Arrangement is first by countries and secondly by subject.

The Ancient Churches of the Near East. By the Rev. C. T. Bridgeman, No. 15, Near East Society Monograph Series, 1952.

A useful reprint, in mimeograph form, of the series of articles contributed to the Near East Society's Bulletin, dealing with the history of Christianity in its homelands and discussing the place of these Churches in the contemporary scene.

Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, microfilmed for the Library of Congress. Prepared under the direction of Kenneth W. Clark, Library of Congress, Washington, 1942. pp. 53, 50 cents.

1,687 of the 3,300 manuscripts in the St. Catherine's Monastery were microfilmed in 1949-50 together with more than one thousand rare *firmans*. This checklist gives a full catalogue of these ancient documents, now obtainable for the mere cost of positive prints. A short introduction tells the fascinating story of this venture, describes how the photographic difficulties were overcome and reports on the materials that are now available for intensive research. 1,284 photographs were also made, and are here listed, of illuminations on the manuscripts. Greek and Arabic and Greek-Arabic manuscripts predominate in the collection. Biblical, liturgical and Islamic studies will surely be stimulated by this co-operative enterprise. The old monastery preserved the centuries: a new technique releases them and delivers their treasures to the scholar's desk.

Contemporary Ethiopia. By David A. Talbot, the Philosophical Library, New York, 1952, pp. 262 and Index. $4.50.

A descriptive account of Ethiopia, its people and its progress, since the accession of Hayla Sellassē, by an American journalist at present editor of the *Ethiopian Herald*. Islam in the country does not come within the author's serious attention. He is concerned to give a resident's impressions and to foster general appreciation of Ethiopian affairs today, against the background of this century.

In one of his delightful travel books, Robert Louis Stevenson describes the placid, unhurried existence of the barge population on the canals of the Low Countries. "The horse plods along at a foot pace, as if there were no such thing as business in the world: and the man dreaming at the tiller sees the same spire on the horizon all day long." Those surely were the days or the scenes for which Quarterlies were designed! Current events have such a current in them that they outrun the reviewer! But even their speed apart, it is not, and was not, the ambition of this Quarterly to keep up with vortex of affairs, but rather to look for those aspects of a wide and flowing panorama which bear upon our twin responsibility for a Christian understanding of Islam and a Muslim awareness of Christ.

* * * *

Speaking on October 23rd in commemoration of the coming of the Egyptian Army to political power on July 23rd, General Muḥammad Naguib, declared: "Brethren, sons of the Nile, the movement of the Army is your movement. For this reason it succeeded and God blessed it since God is with the people. The Army initiated this movement after the people had used all means at their disposal against tyranny, corruption and social injustice. . . . This movement was not in vain. . . . It was fermented in our souls and minds and passed through a long period of gestation. You desire freedom and independence for the Nile Valley. We insist on this accepting no alternative. You want social justice and human dignity for the inhabitants of the Nile Valley. This is the foundation of our movement. You want a just reward for every worker, a sufficient living substance for every citizen and equal opportunities for all without discrimination. We make this our aim."

The Egyptian leader has shown a constructive and friendly attitude towards religious minorities in Egypt, calling for "complete equality of persons of all religious faiths." National unity requires all the elements in the community. The General told a large assembly of police officers and guardsmen: "Make no distinction between the various classes and the various elements of the nation. I don't want you to say: 'This is a Muslim, this is a Copt, and this one is a Jew.' We are all Egyptians and we should all be treated equally." He also told the Greek Catholic community in Cairo that minorities in a state were like the salt in food. He has visited Jewish Hospitals in various centres, as well as Muslim, Greek, Coptic and Latin Hospitals and has attended a number of Coptic celebrations. In view of continuing political tensions with Israel these gestures of good will towards Egyptian Jewry are courageous as well as timely.

* * * *

Fatḥy Radwān, Minister of State, confirms that the Wafd and the National Parties in Egypt have agreed to accept women into membership. Zaafaran Palace, formerly a Government guest house for official visitors, is to be devoted to housing two Faculties of the Ibrahim University. The Government is to provide radio sets for

every village in Egypt. The day of hand-kissing, of paternalism and nepotism, is over: the watchwords are discipline, order and social welfare. Religious journals in Egypt have greeted the new regime with eager approval. A *fatwā* in *Liwā' al Islām* of September 1952 discusses whether prayer for the King by name in the mosque is conventional or legally incumbent, and decides that prayer should be made for the actual civil authority in general terms. The August issue devoted several articles to discussing the evils of unworthy Kingship as these are denounced by the Qur'ān and Tradition.

* * * *

U.N.E.S.C.O. has opened an education training and production centre at Sirs al-Taiyana in the Menoufiyah region, some 60 miles north of Cairo. It aims to produce model teaching materials and to train teachers for the whole Middle East. Primers and film strips adapted to the needs of rural communities have been made, with the use of which illiterates should qualify to read newspapers at the end of three months. They must also have more than newspapers to read. U.N.E.S.C.O. is engaging in extensive bibliographical service to University and other libraries in the Middle East, particularly at Teheran and Damascus. Microfilm installation at the Library of the University of Istanbul will help to make available for Western scholars the rich collection of 17,300 manuscripts and 130,000 books housed there.

Syria has announced a campaign to abolish illiteracy within ten years. Compulsory education for all children of elementary school age is planned. Every Syrian man or woman holding a school diploma issued during the last ten years must take part in the teaching program. Under the new Constitution since the end of 1950, elementary and secondary schools have doubled and six teacher training colleges have been opened. The education of girls is proceeding apace: girls in fact now compose one half of the school-going children of Syria and in the University of Damascus they form one-fifth of the student body. Trade, commercial, nursing and other schools are multiplying. The Government's *Second Statement to the Syrian People,* however, adds; "With regard to foreign schools, no justification could be found for starting new teaching units belonging to this category, inasmuch as Government schools and national private schools are now in a position enabling them to satisfy the cultural needs of the country."

The Government of Iraq is undertaking the establishment of Science Faculties at the University of Baghdad. Fellowships for foreign study on the part of technicians and scholars from various Middle Eastern States are being rapidly developed.

* * * *

In Indonesia also higher education is proceeding apace. Jogjakarta in South Central Java has become the educational centre, with the Gadjah Mada National University opened there three years ago. It is named after a sultan who defied the Dutch in the early days. Instruction is in Indonesian and English. Enrolling, facilities, equipment and library amenities are all expanding. More than 5000 students attend the University and there are very many others in the adjacent Muslim University. Jogjakarta, set in the heart of ancient Javanese culture, aims to nurture a modern one.

That the problem of population and the responsibilities of the present generation to the next are exercising many Muslim minds is evident from several quarters. Khālid Muḥammad Khālid in "Min hunā nabda' " discusses in trenchant fashion the "torrent of births" in Egypt and the national danger of quantitative gain and qualitative loss. *The Islamic Literature* of Lahore of September 1952 comments, though adversely, on the formation of bachelor clubs in Pakistan. It recognises that the reasons behind them may be the desire to check population growth and pressure and the consequent fall in living standards. But it rejects the worth of these motives and condemns abstention from marriage as misguided and disloyal, both to Islam and to society.

* * * *

A Conference on Islam and Christian Relations was held in S. Alban's, England in September 1952 with discussions on forces at work in the Muslim World today and the attitude of the Christian Church. Similarly in New York, the Seminar for the Study of Muslim-Christian Issues, which had been meeting intermittently for more than a decade under the zealous leadership of Dr. John E. Merrill, has entered on a new phase of its work. Without neglecting the fundamental question as to what constitutes the Christian mission, it is trying to grapple also with the question as to what fulfills it. The members hope to serve the great tasks of Christian communication to Muslims in so far as they can be assayed from over the ocean. Closer contact is being sought with Muslims in America ready for intimate, open-hearted and responsible relationships with Christians. With the problems and dangers of the world more and more ours in common, it should be possible for us both to know and to be known more fully.

A MUSLIM LITANY

From learning that is barren,
From a heart lacking reverence,
From prayers heard but rejected,
From the greedy self, never crying "Enough,"
Great God, in Thee do I take refuge.

(Inscribed in Arabic in the Aydin Bey Mosque, in the Birgi district of Ödemis, Turkey, and contributed from a Turkish translation.)

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal College of Physicians. A. S. Tritton. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. October, 1951. pp. 182-192).

Lists Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts on medicine.

Critical Bibliography of Spoken Arabic Proverbial Literature. Charles Ferguson and John Echols. (In *The Journal of American Folklore,* Boston. January, 1952. pp. 67-83).

Includes 128 titles with description and evaluation of each.

Notes on Old South Arabian Lexicography. A. F. L. Beeston. (In *Muséon,* Paris. 1951, no. 1-2. pp. 127-134).

The third part of a study on the subject.

II. ARABIA

Inscriptions Sud-Arabes. G. Ryckmans. (In *Muséon,* Paris. 1951, no. 1-2. pp. 93-126).

Describes Sabacan inscriptions discovered by Philby.

Sa'udi Arabia. Dr. George Kheirallah. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. September, 1952. pp. 17-20).

Thanks to the rigid enforcement of the laws promulgated by Ibn Saud, travel in Arabia is absolutely safe.

To Arabia in Search of Date-Palm Offshoots. V. H. W. Dowson. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1952. pp. 45-56).

Tells of conditions in the Hasa which the author visited while on a project to learn how to introduce date culture into Somaliland.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

A Brief Survey of the History of the Bahrain Islands. James H. D. Belgrave. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1952. pp. 57-68).

The varied and interesting story of the Islands was first noted in an inscription of the time of Sargon, when they were called Niduk-ki and Dilmun; to-day the lands are prospering under the present Shaikh, Sulmān.

Modern Nations and Islam. Robert Montagne. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1952. pp. 580-592).

Because the nationalistic concept is completely alien to Muslim civilization and unprovided for in the Sharī'a, the West must try to give wise advice and patiently work to build true nations where all faiths may live in harmony.

THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF ARAB LANDS. Bernard Lewis. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1951, part 3-4. pp. 139-155).

Describes the mass of fine material available and discusses in particular the Mühimme Defteri (Defter of Public Affairs), the most accessible of which is the Tapu Defter. An appendix lists material dealing with Arab countries other than Turkey.

A REPORT ON THE MESSIANIC TROUBLES IN BAGHDAD. S. D. Goitein. (In *The Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia. July, 1952. pp. 57-72).

Tells of conditions from 1120-1121 as given in the Cairo Genizah preserved at Oxford.

LES VOYAGES D'UN MYSTIQUE PERSAN DE HAMADAN AU KASHMIR. A. A. Hekmat. (In *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1952, no. 1. pp. 53-66).

An account of the life and works of Mīr Seyyad 'Alī Hamadānī, known as Amīr Kabīr or 'Alī Sani', a famous Ṣūfī of the fourteenth century.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

IBN ABI' L-DUNYĀ ON PENITENCE. A. J. Arberry. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1951, no. 1-2. pp. 48-63).

Describes the "Kitāb al-Tauba", a manuscript in the Chester Beatty Collection, made about 1212 and, among other unusual features, containing a list of descent from author to copyist.

ON THE SPIRITUAL BACKGROUND OF EARLY ISLAM AND THE HISTORY OF ITS PRINCIPAL CONCEPTS. M. M. Bravermann. (In *Muséon,* Paris. 1951, no. 3-4. pp. 317-356).

Explains various terms such as *dīn, islām, īmān,* etc. which form a foundation for Muslim ideology and psychology.

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER KUFISCHEN KORANLESUNG. Edmund Beck. (In *Orientalia,* Rome. 1951, no. 3. pp. 316-328).

Concerns Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al Sulamī.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF TURKEY. S. Erinç and N. Tunçdilik. (In *The Geographical Review,* New York. April, 1952. pp. 179-203).

Elaborates on the fact that only one-fifth of Turkey's land area is under cultivation although four-fifths of the population practice farming.

THE ARAB REFUGEES. Norman Bentwich. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. May, 1952. pp. 270-274).

Reviews the United Nations proposals for improving intolerable conditions.

ISLAMIC SOCIETY ON THE CHINESE-MONGOLIAN BORDER. Shinobu Iwamura. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. September, 1952. pp. 23-28).

Describes life in various villages along the Peking-Pao Ton Railroad.

THE ISMA'LIS OF SYRIA TODAY. Norman N. Lewis. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1952. pp. 69-77).

Depicts the social and economic conditions of the Isma'lis of Salamiyya with a sketch of their historical background.

PERSIA'S NEED FOR LAND REFORM. P. H. T. Beckett. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. February, 1952. pp. 100-104).

The Communists will be the gainers unless drastic action is taken to relieve the oppressed peasants.

LE PETROLE DANS L'ECONOMIE DU MOYEN-ORIENT. Raymond C. Julien. (In *Revue de Droit International du Moyen-Orient,* Paris. Juin, 1951. pp. 51-65).

An analysis describing technical as well as socio-economic implications.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL CHANGE. W. W. Cleland. (In *The Journal of International Affairs,* New York. Winter, 1952. pp. 23-36).

Gives an account of personal observations of the state of the native populations of Egypt, Turkey and Iran.

SYRIA IS NOT YET A DEMOCRACY. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. March, 1952. pp. 158-163).

The author believes that the 1950 Syrian Constitution will eventually bring about a modified democracy.

TODAY IN THE LAND OF EGYPT. Karl De Schweinitz. (In *The Survey,* March, 1952. pp. 103-107).

Tells of the Rockefeller Foundations efforts and achievements in improving social conditions.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

L'ESPAGNE FRANQUISTE ET LE MONDE ARABE. Elena de la Souchere. (In *Mondes D'Orient,* Paris. Fevrier, 1952. pp. 7-14).

A detailed analysis of General Franco's North African Policy.

THE QUESTION OF THE TURKISH STRAITS. Joseph Somogyi. (In *The Journal of Central European Affairs,* Boulder, Colo. October 1951. pp. 279-290).

The author is lay inspector of the Lutheran seniorate of Buda, Hungary.

THE FRENCH ACCOMPLISHMENT IN MOROCCO. Gen. Augustin Guillaume. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1952. pp. 625-636).

A presentation of impressive developments in all fields of endeavor. With statistics.

GOVERNMENTS OF THE ARAB EAST. Majid Khadduri. (In *The Journal of International Affairs,* New York. Winter, 1952. pp. 37-50).

Describes how Muslim tradition and European influence appear blended in the various governments.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN WORLD AFFAIRS. Abba Eban. (In *The Journal of International Affairs,* New York. Winter, 1952. pp. 25-27).

Shows how excessive nationalism and backward economic conditions work against international cooperation.

PAKISTAN, ISLAM AND THE WEST. Percival Spear. (In *The Twentieth Century,* London. August 1952. pp. 132-138).

Sketches the development of Pakistan as a name, a state and an ideology.

PERSIAN OIL. Reader Bullard. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. April, 1952. pp. 219-225).

Examines both the British and the Iranian positions in this distressing controversy.

REALITIES IN EGYPT. George Bilainkin. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. April, 1952. pp. 202-207).

Presents statements by Sir Ralph Stevenson and the skilful Salāḥ al-Dīn Pasha in a discussion on the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PERSIAN OIL DISPUTE. Lord Birdwood. (In *The Twentieth Century,* London. August, 1952. pp. 125-131).

Gives a survey of Anglo-Iranian oil relations from 1901 to the presentation of the case to the International Court of Justice.

LES TENDANCES INTERNATIONALES DES PEUPLES ARABES DU MOYEN-ORIENT ET LE PROBLÈME DE LA PAIX. Chafic Malec. (In *Revue de Droit International pour le Moyen-Orient,* Paris. Juin, 1951. pp. 4-23).

Offers a suggestion for Arab federation.

TWO TRIBAL LAW CASES. R. B. Serjeant. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1951, no. 1-2, pp. 33-47; no. 3-4, pp. 157-169).

Taken from a collection of legal documents assembled by the author in Ḥaḍramaut, the cases throw much light on the social structure of the country and on the use of ʿĀdah, tribal law.

VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE CHURCH OF INDIA, PAKISTAN, BURMA AND CEYLON. The Rev. Emani Sambayya and others. (In *Pan Anglican,* Hartford, Conn. Easter, 1952. pp. 3-53).

The issue is devoted to articles covering the India area.

CROSSROADS OF THE WORLD. Alford Carleton. (In *World Dominion and The World Today,* London. May-June, 1952. pp. 141-146).

The author suggests four steps of approach to the people of this challenging part of the world—keeping perspective, daring to experiment, working with all levels of society and remembering our goal of a Christian world.

FOCUS ON JORDAN. Leonard Geary. (In *World Dominion and The World To-Day,* London. May-June, 1952. pp. 177-180).

The interest in the teachings of Christ is most encouraging but, again, ardent workers and substantial funds are needed.

THE INDONESIAN OUTLOOK. W. M. Post. (In *World Dominion and The World To-Day,* London. May-June, 1952. pp. 168-171).

The existence and practice of religious liberty throughout the country gives Christian missions a tremendous opportunity to combat Islam and Communism, but many more workers are needed.

Is It Too Late? C. W. Procter. (In *World Dominion and The World To-Day,* London. March-April, 1952. pp. 81-84).
A plea for much more language preparation for work in the Middle East.

Islam and Christianity. Robert Montague. (In *Thought,* New York. Summer, 1952. pp. 213-224).
In the face of a united Islam of 350 million souls, Christianity must show wisdom, prudence, faith and charity.

The Sphinx Has Spoken. X. (In *World Dominion and The World To-Day,* London. March-April, 1952. pp. 115-117).
An account of the January 26th rioting in Cairo, closing with gratitude that this time the Christian churches and missions were unharmed.

A SUFI'S PRAYER

(Translated from a Sufi Manual of Devotion.)

O Lord, open to us Thy mercy and clothe us, O Lord, in the most excellent robe of guidance and prayer. Be glad, O God, at Thy greatness . . . and let the sighing of our tears flow, O God, into Thine awful worship. Correct, O God, in me the allurements of evil for the sake of my entreaty. O my God, if Thy mercy had not shown me the good way then who would have led me unto Thee in a plain path? . . . If Thine aid had forsaken me when self and Satan struggled with me, then verily Thy forsaking would have left me in misery and loss.

O my God, I knocked at the door of Thy mercy with the hand of my hope. I fled unto Thee, seeking refuge from my multiplied sins and I hung upon the borders of Thy garments with the fingers of my trust. So pardon, O God, the wrongs I have done, the evils and the sins, and rid me, O God, of my evil state, for Thou art my Lord and Sovereign, my reliance and my hope, the goal of my desire in my calamity and distress.

O my God, how wilt Thou reject a worthless one who takes refuge with Thee, fleeing from his sins: or how wilt Thou disappoint one who implores guidance of Thy excellence with entreaty: or how wilt Thou cast off one who longs to drink of Thy waters? No! Thou wilt not . . . for Thy door is open to the seekers and the homeless. Thou art the end of our search and the goal of hope, O my God.